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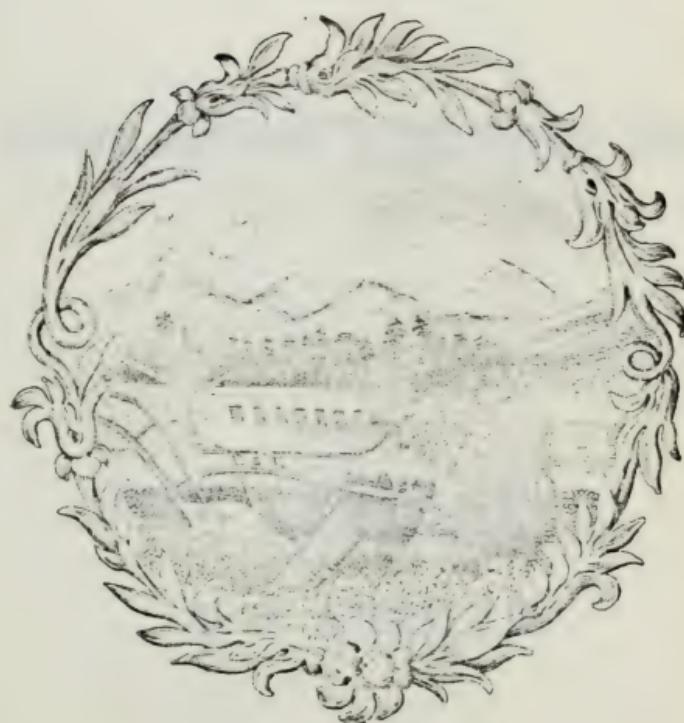


ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.



THE PUBLISHING COMPANY

CABINET HISTORIES.



OHIO

THEATRICAL HISTORY  
OF THE STATE OF OHIO

1853



THE  
HISTORY OF OHIO,

FROM ITS

Earliest Settlement to the Present Time.

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EDITED BY

W. H. CARPENTER,

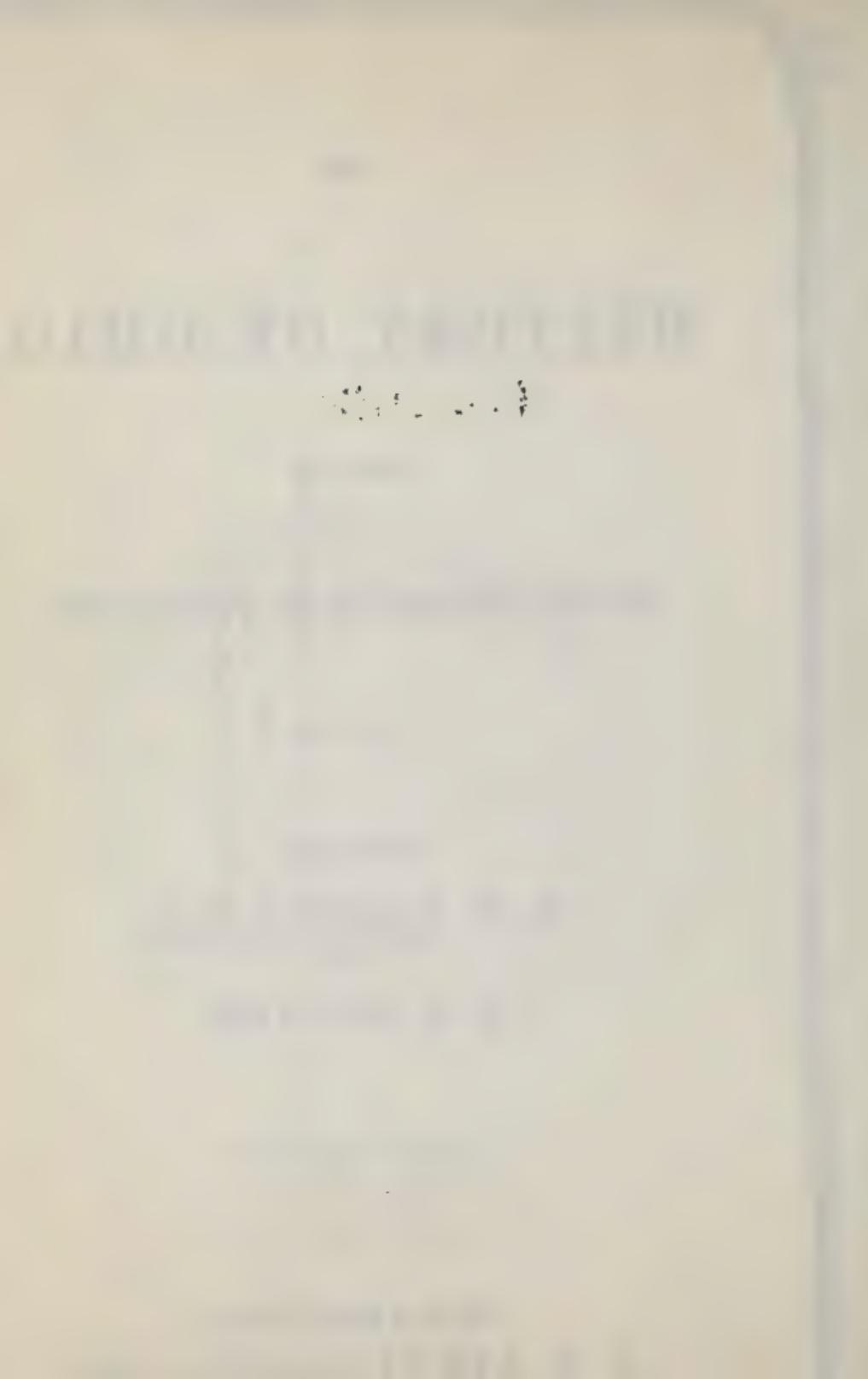
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## PUBLISHERS' PREFACE.

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THERE are but few persons in this country who have not, at some time or other, felt the want of an accurate, well written, concise, yet clear and reliable history of their own or some other state.

The want here indicated is now about being supplied; and, as the task of doing so is no light or superficial one, the publishers have given into the hands of the two gentlemen whose names appear in the title-page, the work of preparing a series of CABINET HISTORIES, embracing a volume for each state in the Union. Of their ability to perform this well, we need not speak. They are no strangers in the literary world. What they undertake the public may rest assured will be performed thoroughly; and that no sectarian, sectional, or party feelings will bias their judgment, or lead them to violate the integrity of history.

The importance of a series of state histories like those now commenced, can scarcely be estimated. Being condensed as carefully as accuracy and interest of narrative will permit, the size and price of the volumes will bring them within the reach of every family in the country, thus making them home-reading books for old and young. Each individual will,



in consequence, become familiar, not only with the history of his own state, but with that of other states: —thus mutual interest will be re-awakened, and old bonds cemented in a firmer union.

In this series of CABINET HISTORIES, the authors, while presenting a concise but accurate narrative of the domestic policy of each state, will give greater prominence to the personal history of the people. The dangers which continually hovered around the early colonists; the stirring romance of a life passed fearlessly amid peril; the incidents of border warfare; the adventures of hardy pioneers; the keen watchfulness, the subtle surprise, the ruthless attack, and prompt retaliation—all these having had an important influence upon the formation of the American character, are to be freely recorded. While the progressive development of the citizens of each individual state from the rough forest-life of the earlier day to the polished condition of the present, will exhibit a picture of national expansion as instructing as it is interesting.

The size and style of the series will be uniform with the present volume. The authors, who have been for some time collecting and arranging materials, will furnish the succeeding volumes as rapidly as their careful preparation will warrant.



## PREFACE.

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THE materials which compose this, the first connected history of Ohio ever offered to the public, have been drawn from a variety of sources, and required a patient examination of many volumes and numerous documents. The collation of the facts and incidents, and their arrangement into a consecutive narrative, have necessarily been attended with more than ordinary labour.

Settled originally by the members of an Association whose intelligence and respectability were warmly commended by Washington, the increase of Ohio both in wealth and population has been, for half a century, without a parallel in history.

A state which, in 1800, numbered but forty-five thousand souls, exhibits, in 1850, a population of two millions, owning nearly ten millions of acres of improved land, and occupying, in civil and political position, the third place in the Federal Union.



In the present work, much greater prominence has been given to the incidents connected with the domestic history of the people than to their political inclinations. In what manner they lived in the olden time, how bravely they fought, and how nobly and successfully they persevered, this history will show.



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# HISTORY OF OHIO.

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The valley of the Ohio—Its primitive aspect—Its great fertility—Existing indications of an ancient and semi-civilized race—Indian villages on the banks of the Ohio—Cause of their desertion—English colonial settlements—First account of the Ohio Valley—Exploration of the mountain passes by Governor Spottswood—Origin of the first Ohio company—Claims of Great Britain to the Ohio region—Counter claims of France—Discoveries of La Salle—The extent of Louisiana—French settlements—Celeron sent to take possession of the Ohio Valley—Explorations of Gist on behalf of the Ohio company—Singular Shawanese custom—The Miamies—Attacked by the French for protecting English traders—Virginia alarmed—Indian council at Logstown—Movements of the French—Measures of Pennsylvania and Virginia—Journey of Washington to Fort le Boeuf—His return—Virginia calls upon the colonies for assistance in repelling invasion—Fort commenced at the forks of the Ohio—The colonial governors ordered to repel force by force—The French descend the Alleghany—Capture of the English works.

SIXTY-SIX years ago the territory comprised within the limits of the present state of Ohio was an uncultivated wilderness; to-day, from its wealth and population, it ranks third in importance among the confederated republics of North



America. History furnishes no parallel to a growth so wonderful.

The primitive aspect of the noble and fertile region watered by the Ohio, was singularly attractive to those pioneers of civilization, who, to the red man's love of freedom and the chase, united a sturdy energy and an indomitable perseverance peculiarly their own. The "Beautiful River," which gave easy access to this magnificent domain, was bounded by gently sloping hills, presenting no obstacles to cultivation, and extending in irregular ranges for many miles into the interior.

These undulating lands were overshadowed by one unbroken forest. The autumnal fires of the Indians, during a long series of years, had destroyed every vestige of woody undergrowth. From hill to hill, through the dim sylvan aisles, the hunter gazed with surprise upon the large herds of deer and buffalo, which here found pasturage on the luxuriant vines and grasses that sprung up from the fertilizing ashes of the annual fires. In the autumn, when the wind shook down the abundant fruit of the chestnut, the beech, and the oak, countless flocks of wild turkeys afforded food to the hunter of the most delicious character. To attract the agriculturist, in addition to the excellent wheat lands of the hills, were the maize lands of the bottoms. Seldom touched by frost, and rarely subject to



disastrous overflow, their rich deep black loam offered a generous reward to the labours of the husbandman.

That a people, far superior to the nomadic tribes encountered by the earlier pioneers, had anciently occupied this fertile valley, is evident from the numerous traces of fortified cities whose ruins have not yet wholly disappeared. Of this people, and of the works which testify to their former existence, the traditions of their savage successors do not speak. Who they were, whence they came, and in what manner they disappeared, are mysteries which still continue to baffle the researches of the historian, and the patient scrutiny of the antiquarian.

At a later day, the red man planted his villages along the shores of the Ohio; but when the European trader first visited that river, these, with one or two exceptions, had disappeared. For sixty miles back the wilderness was left untouched even by the tillage of the Indians. Lands of extraordinary fertility were used only as vast hunting-grounds, where the warriors from the towns high up the tributaries of the Ohio, solitary, or in parties, followed the pleasures of the chase. To account for this change from comparative populousness to solitude, the traditions of the Indians relate that, for a long series of years, fleets of canoes, manned by the fierce warriors of the Iroquois, came down annually



from the head waters of the Alleghany, carrying death and desolation through the entire valley of the Ohio; and, at length, driving its inhabitants to seek a more secure refuge far in the interior.

During the early half of the eighteenth century, the attention of the Anglo-American colonies, which as yet had extended their back settlements to but little over a hundred miles from the Atlantic, began to be attracted by reports of a beautiful country west of the Alleghanies. The glowing accounts given of the Ohio Valley by the fur traders, who alone had visited that region, naturally produced a desire for its occupation. As early as 1710, Spottswood, the governor of Virginia, with much pomp and a great retinue, explored the mountain passes leading to it; and Logan, from 1719 to 1731, the wise and energetic secretary of Pennsylvania, constantly urged the necessity of securing the Ohio territory to the English.

At length, in the year 1748, Thomas Lee, a member of the Virginia council, associating himself with several other gentlemen of that province, and with certain London merchants, obtained a grant of half a million acres of land, to be taken, however, principally on the south side of the Ohio between the Monongahela and Kanawha Rivers. This was the first "Ohio Land Company," and its object was the establish-



ment of an English settlement beyond the Alleghanies.

The right of Great Britain to grant these lands was founded, in part, on her prior discovery of the North American continent through the Cabots; by which it was contended that the whole territory was truly hers. But the principal ground upon which she based her assumption was, that the Iroquois or Six Nations, by right of conquest owned the Ohio valley, and had placed it, along with their other lands, under her protection.

France, however, advanced a counter-claim. Following up the discovery of the Mississippi by the pious and enthusiastic Marquette, Robert de la Salle, a chevalier of France, the first of white men to sail the waters of Lake Erie, had pushed his way to the three outlets through which the "Great River" pours itself into the Gulf of Mexico. Here, on the 9th of April, 1682, he took formal possession of the whole Mississippi valley, in the name of his royal master, Louis XIV.

The territory thus added to the dominions of France, presently received the name of Louisiana, and was expressly declared, so early as 1692, to extend "to the head springs of the Alleghany, including the Laurel Ridge, the Great Meadows, and every brook that flowed into the Ohio."

During the period that elapsed from La Salle's



discovery till near the middle of the eighteenth century, the French enjoyed entire and almost undisputed, though not unquestioned possession of the west. Besides establishing flourishing settlements at Detroit, Peoria, Kaskaskia, Vincennes, and New Orleans, they had erected between forty and fifty forts, missionary stations, and trading posts, in various parts of the country. Upon the fact of this occupation, and of the discoveries of Marquette and La Salle, France based her claim to the valley of the Ohio. To render this title still more valid, Galissonière, the governor-general of Canada, in the summer of 1749, before the Ohio company had surveyed their lands, despatched Captain Louis Celeron, with a detachment of three hundred men, to bury leaden plates, on which were inscriptions setting forth the claims of France, at the mouths of the principal streams flowing into the Ohio. Celeron was also instructed, at the same time, to take possession of the country by a formal "process verbal," and to warn all English traders from its limits. This proceeding was, however, but of little avail; for, during the same year, an English trading house was established on the banks of the Great Miami.

While the French, in 1751, were busily fortifying certain points on the head waters of the Alleghany, the Ohio Land Company sent their agent, Christopher Gist, to make explorations



north of the Ohio, and to survey their grant to the south of that river. He was the first white man, of Anglo-Saxon descent to visit, in an official capacity, the country now comprised within the limits of the state of Ohio. Journeying across the middle waters of the Muskingum and Sciota Rivers, Gist reached in safety a Shawanese town, just below the mouth of the latter stream, on the Ohio. While here, he witnessed a singular ceremony. One evening, public proclamation was made that all marriages were dissolved, and that a three days' fast would be held, during which the women were to choose their husbands anew. The next day was spent in dancing. Men and women danced by turns, some sixty or seventy at a time, around fires, in a figure resembling an eight. At night a grand feast was held, after which the dance was resumed, and was kept up until the evening of the third day. Then about a hundred of the men commenced dancing in and out of the council house, while the women looked on. So soon as any of the latter had made her choice of a husband from among those passing before her, she took hold of the man's blanket, and joining the dancers, continued dancing until all the women had likewise selected their partners, when the festival ended, and the new marriages were solemnized.

Bidding farewell to the Shawanese, Gist next visited the Miamies on the larger of the two



streams that bear their name, and where the block-house for trading purposes had been erected by the English. Then retracing his steps to the Sciota, he descended to the falls of the Ohio, and returned home by the way of North Carolina.

Early in 1752, a detachment of French soldiers was sent to the Miamies to require the surrender of the English traders. The Miamies adhered to their English friends with courageous fidelity, and would not accede to the demand. Irritated at meeting with an unexpected refusal, the French, assisted by Ottawa and Chippeway Indians, immediately attacked the block-house, which, after a hard fight, they took and destroyed, carrying the garrison prisoners to Canada. Thus closed the first British attempt at settlement in Ohio.

These significant demonstrations determined Virginia to establish, upon a firmer basis, her claims to jurisdiction west of the Alleghanies. As early as 1744, a cession of certain lands in that region had been obtained by purchase from the Iroquois, during a council held at Lancaster, in Pennsylvania. But this treaty being regarded with distrust by the western Indians, it was thought advisable to purchase their assent to its provisions. Three commissioners were accordingly sent to Logstown, a small trading village, situated on the north bank of the Ohio, some



seventeen miles below Pittsburg. On the 13th of June, 1752, these gentlemen succeeded in obtaining from the chiefs assembled at that place, a full confirmation of the Lancaster treaty, and an invitation to construct a fort at the forks of the Ohio.

On the other hand, in anticipation of the settlements projected by the Ohio company, the French made extensive preparations both to assert and maintain their supremacy. A large force of troops, with adequate supplies of stores and munitions of war, were collected at Presque Isle, on the borders of Lake Erie; and, notwithstanding the remonstrance of the Indians, by the spring of 1753, a well organized expedition was ready to advance, at any moment, into the valley of the Ohio.

The governors of Pennsylvania and Virginia becoming alarmed at these hostile indications, took such measures to meet them as their restricted means allowed. Messengers were despatched to confer with the Ohio tribes, with whose delegates councils were held during the months of September and October, 1753. A commission was also sent to warn the French of the consequences which would follow their encroachments; but the envoy, fearful of his personal safety, returned without fulfilling his instructions. To the Indian remonstrances the French coolly replied, that it was their intention



to build forts at Venango, an old Indian town at the mouth of French Creek; at the forks of the Ohio; at Logstown, and at Beaver Creek. The ill success of his first agent induced Governor Dinwiddie to select a more capable and fearless one, in the person of Major George Washington, then a young man of twenty-two, whose previous duties as a surveyor, and whose well-known solidity of character eminently fitted him for the service he was called upon to perform. Accompanied by Gist, and five attendants, Washington left Wills Creek on the 15th of November, and on the 22d stood upon the banks of the Monongahela, a few miles above its junction with the Ohio. Proceeding thence to Logstown, he held several unsatisfactory conferences with the principal chiefs in that vicinity. He was, however, enabled to obtain important intelligence concerning the military posts already established by the French, and their ulterior designs. Resuming his journey on the 30th, he reached Venango on the 4th of December, and, after the lapse of another week, entered Fort le Bœuf, at the head of French Creek. He was courteously received by St. Pierre, the French commandant at that post; and having delivered the letter of Governor Dinwiddie, and received an unequivocal response, he set out on his return to Virginia. After encountering several perilous incidents, by which his life was twice endangered, he reached



Wills Creek on the 6th of January, from whence, after a brief sojourn, he proceeded to the capitol to report the result of his mission.

The determination of the French to occupy the valley of the Ohio being now clearly evinced, despatches were immediately forwarded to England, notifying the Board of Trade of the dangers to which the frontiers were exposed; while Pennsylvania and New York were urgently called upon by Virginia to assist the people of that province in maintaining the integrity of the English possessions. Thoroughly aroused to the necessity of adopting effective measures, the Virginia assembly authorized the enlistment of two additional companies, one of which was to be raised by Washington in the more settled portions of the province, and the other by Trent upon the frontiers. The latter was directed to commence at once the erection of a fort at the confluence of the Alleghany and Monongahela with the Ohio, and to defend the post by force of arms against any who might attempt to dispossess him. These instructions being sustained soon after by a circular from the English secretary of state, ordering the various provincial governors to repel force by force, New York responded to the call of Virginia by voting the sum of twenty-two thousand dollars, to aid in obtaining the necessary means of resisting the common enemy. Pennsylvania, more



directly interested, evaded the requisition by professing to doubt whether the French had actually encroached upon English territory. It was not long before all uncertainty upon this subject was at an end. In April, 1754, tidings were received of the gathering of French troops at Forts le Bœuf and Venango, preparatory to descending the Ohio. They were reported to be in such force, that the assembly of Virginia resolved to increase the two additional companies to six. Of the regiment thus ordered to be raised, Joshua Fry was appointed colonel, and Washington second in command.

While these companies were being organized, the workmen at the forks of the Ohio, utterly unconscious of the danger by which they were menaced, while busily engaged in the construction of the fort at that point, suddenly discovered, descending the Alleghany, sixty batteaux, and three hundred canoes, crowded with men, and deeply laden with stores, cannon, and munitions of war. Contreœur, the commander of this imposing flotilla, immediately demanded the surrender of the unfinished works; and as Ensign Ward, with a party of forty men indifferently armed, was in no condition to maintain an unfinished stockade against a thousand troops, and a battery of eighteen guns, he submitted to the very courteous coercion of his polite antagonist, by evacuating the post, and bearing with him the



working tools of his detachment, ascended the Monongahela with his men, to report at the nearest settlement, the presence of the enemy. The capture of this feeble military station preluded that long and sanguinary war by which, after supporting the contest with varying fortunes for nine successive years, the power of the French was effectually broken, their admirable chain of western posts either destroyed or captured, and the whole territory heretofore claimed by them, left in undisputed possession of their conquerors.



## CHAPTER II.

Treaty of Fontainebleau—Territorial cession by France to Great Britain—English traders—Their activity—The Ohio company—Preparations for emigration—Indian troubles—Speech to Post—Conspiracy of Pontiac—Its success—His appeal to the Indians—Fatal unconsciousness of the English—Massacre of the traders—Michilimackinac captured by a stratagem—Ball play of the Indians—Carelessness of the garrison—Surprise and massacre—Detroit assaulted—Besieged by Pontiac—Fort Miami captured—Artful stratagem of an Indian woman—Its commander slain—Surrender of the garrison—Pusillanimity of an English officer in command at Presque Isle—Fort le Boeuf assaulted—Escape of the garrison—Massacre at Venango—Investment of Fort Pitt—Devastation of the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia—Terror of the inhabitants—March of Bouquet—Attacked by Indians—Relief of Fort Pitt—Trouble in the confederacy—Revival of old feuds—Pontiac retires to Illinois—His death.

By the treaty of peace, signed at Fontainebleau on the 10th of February, 1763, France divested herself of all her North American possessions, by ceding to Great Britain the whole of the territory east of the Mississippi River, with the exception of the Island of Orleans, which, with the remainder of Louisiana, she transferred on the same day to Spain. Having been thus effectually freed from the presence of an active and enterprising enemy, English traders, hoping to succeed to the influence previously exercised



by the French over the north-western tribes of Indians, speedily spread themselves among them for the purpose of bartering their merchandise for the peltries of the red men. With an equal feeling of security, the Ohio company made energetic preparations for the settlement of their lands; while, throughout the border provinces, numerous bands of sturdy husbandmen eagerly sought to dispose of their farms and superfluous stock, for the purpose of providing the means to establish themselves in a new home on the fertile borders of that river, of whose beauty they had heard so much.

But before these extensive arrangements were finally completed, an Indian conspiracy broke out, which, for a time, seriously threatened to deprive England of a large portion of that territory she had so lately acquired from the French by right of conquest. As early as 1758, the Ohio Indians had vehemently protested against the encroachments of the whites upon their hunting grounds. When Post, the courageous messenger from Pennsylvania, four months previous to the fall of Fort Duquesne, sought to detach them from the French interest, they replied, “Why do you not fight your battles at home, or on the sea, instead of coming into our country to fight them?” A little while after, one of the speakers added; “The white people think we have no brains in our heads: that they are many



and we a little handful; but remember, when you hunt for a rattlesnake you cannot find it; and perhaps it will bite you before you see it." The covert menace implied in these words was regarded at the time as a mere ebullition of transient anger; but the jealousy of the red man was even then becoming aroused, not merely along the borders of the Ohio, but across the whole breadth of the continent, from Canada to the Carolinas. And the more deeply they brooded over their future prospects, the more settled became their aversion to the European intruders.

Seizing advantage of this not unnatural feeling, Pontiac, the great chief of the Ottawas, a warrior of extraordinary courage and sagacity, formed the daring scheme of uniting the numerous tribes of the north-west into one common confederacy, having for its end a simultaneous massacre of the English. The organization of this formidable conspiracy, notwithstanding the difficulties he had to encounter in reconciling existing feuds, was at length successfully accomplished.

Boldly professing to speak by divine authority, he appealed to the superstition of his moody auditors. "Thus saith the Great Spirit," he exclaimed: "Why do you suffer these dogs in red clothing to enter your country, and take the land I have given you? Drive them from it!"



Drive them! and when you are in distress, I will help you."

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Exhortations like these did not remain long unheeded. One by one the Chippewas, Delawares, Mingoes, Wyandots, and Miamis, united with the Ottawas, and arranged in secret the details of the conspiracy.

All this time the English traders were received with friendly confidence. The hardy pioneers, whose axes were already heard ringing through the forest aisles of the wilderness, reposed after their daily toil in fancied security. The slender garrisons which occupied the military posts abandoned by the French, kept careless watch and ward, while not a single whisper from human lips warned them of the terrible danger by which they were environed. Around the forts at Michilimackinac, Detroit, Le Bœuf, Venango, Presque Isle, on the Maumee and the Wabash, at Sandusky, Fort Pitt, Niagara, and other stations of inferior note, hordes of fierce warriors were silently gathering. Suddenly, in the spring of 1763, they fell upon the numerous traders throughout all the region of the northwest, and barbarously murdered two hundred of them, including their servants. Nearly at the same time nine English forts were surprised and captured, many of the garrisons being put to death with all the horrors attendant upon savage warfare.

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The stockade fort at Machilimackinac was captured by a singular stratagem. For some days the Chippewas and Sauks had been encamped in its vicinity, ostensibly for the purpose of trade. At length they gave out that the respective tribes were going to play ball in front of the fort, and invited the commandant, his officers, and the traders with whom they had been trading, to become witnesses of the sport.

The game of baggatiway, or ball, requiring great power of endurance, coupled with extraordinary agility and address, has always been a favourite with the Indians. Each player carries a bat, about four feet long, curved, and terminating in a sort of racket. Two posts, the respective stations of the rival players, are planted in the ground, a mile or more apart, and, at the commencement of the sport, the ball being placed midway between them, each party endeavours to throw it past the goal of its adversary. Several times before, the Indians had indulged in this pastime close to the walls of the fort; and, unsuspecting of danger, the excitement of the game had afforded a welcome relief to officers and men wearied with the monotony of garrison life in the wilderness. More than once, also, the players in their ardour had thrown the ball within the stockade, and were suffered to enter the gates and recover it. On the 2d of June, the squaws were admitted within the enclosure as usual,



while the players, actively, and with loud shouts and outcries, commenced contending for the victory. Gradually, about noon, the ball was driven near the gate of the fort, outside of which the commandant and one of his lieutenants were standing. Tumultuously pressing forward, apparently in pursuit of the ball, the Indians suddenly made prisoners of the unsuspecting officers. Entering the fort, at the same moment they received from the women within the arms the latter had secreted beneath their blankets, and commenced a fierce attack upon the garrison. Nearly one-half were speedily killed. The remainder, stripped and plundered of all they possessed, were made prisoners of war.

Previous to this the troops at Detroit had barely escaped a similar fate. The surprise of the latter post was attempted by Pontiac in person. Failing in his object through the vigilance of Major Gladwyn, the commander, he turned the assault into a siege; and, from the 9th of May until the beginning of December, held it closely invested, notwithstanding the efforts made by Amherst to relieve it.

The garrison at Fort Miami, on the Maumee, though consisting only of an ensign and ten men, being timely advised of the assault upon Detroit, might yet have proved strong enough to have withstood the enemy, had not an artful appeal to the humanity of the commanding officer,



led him to depart from the stern observance of his duty. Being called upon by an Indian woman to bleed a squaw, who was reported to be lying ill in a small cabin within musket-shot of the fort, while hastening on his errand of mercy, he was barbarously shot down, and at the same moment the sergeant who had accompanied him, found himself a prisoner. The garrison, deprived of their officers, immediately surrendered.

The loss of the post at Presque Isle also, through the pusillanimity of the officer in command, led, on the 18th of June, to the fall of Fort le Bœuf, which was wholly cut off from assistance by the capture of the former. After successfully withstanding repeated assaults from the Indians, until about midnight, the little garrison silently abandoned the burning block-house, to which their defence had been restricted, leaving the enemy under the impression that they had perished within the flames. Venango fell about the same time, not one of the garrison surviving the massacre. Fort Pitt was likewise surrounded by outlying savages, whose vigilance prevented the half-famished garrison from procuring the supplies they so much needed. The frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia ran red with blood; the homes of the settlers were burned to the ground, their stock driven off, and their fields laid waste. The scene of



carnage spread inland to Bedford in the one province, and to Cumberland in the other. It was an awful period of terror, distress, and confusion; and for many months those who had as yet happily escaped the ferocious onslaught, slept in their clothes, with arms by their side. At length an expedition was organized for the relief of Fort Pitt. It consisted of two shattered regiments of regulars, the command of which was given to Colonel Bouquet. He reached Bedford on the 25th of July. Marching thence by the new road opened by the troops under General Forbes, he was attacked on the 5th of August, by a large force of Indians, near Bushy Run, a small tributary of the Monongahela. For two days the savages continued the contest with unusual vigour and resolution; but though the troops were at first thrown into confusion, they were effectually rallied by the gallantry of their officers, and finally succeeded in routing the enemy with considerable loss.

The relief of Fort Pitt, and their failure to make any impression upon the works at Detroit, and Niagara, threw a gloom over the prospects of the confederated tribes, who now began to feel that their power was not equal to the accomplishment of their design. Chagrined at having met with but partial success, and, perhaps, conscious that retaliation would inevitably follow, they grew suspicious of one another.



The feuds, which union in a common cause had temporarily allayed, now broke out afresh. Separating in anger, they departed for their respective villages, leaving Pontiac, with a few faithful followers, to bear the consequences of the bloody project he had been the first to originate.

A price being set upon his head, he returned to Illinois, where he resided for several years, and where he finally met his death at the hands of an Indian while endeavouring to unite the tribes of that region in a new war against the whites.



### CHAPTER III.

Indiscriminate settlement disallowed—Expeditions of Bradstreet and Bouquet—Treaty at Detroit—Bouquet marches against the Shawanese towns on the Muskingum—Is met by deputies entreating peace—Delivery of prisoners—Affecting conduct of the Indians—Speeches of Lawaughqua—Croghan visits the Illinois—The Monongahela settlers—Their disregard for the claims of the Indians—Project of Sir William Johnson—Applies for a grant of lands south of the Ohio—Treaty at Fort Stanwix—Organization of the Mississippi company—Exploration of Kentucky—John Finley—Daniel Boone—Colonel Knox—Surveys by Bullitt, M'cAfee, and others—Quarrel between Pennsylvania and Virginia—Pittsburg besieged by Connolly—Instigates a jealousy of the Indians—Atrocious conduct of Captain Cre-sap—Massacre by Greathouse—Indian war.

Two months after the relief of Fort Duquesne, a proclamation was issued by the British government, regulating trade with the Indians, and prohibiting an indiscriminate settlement upon their lands. This manifesto, in connection with an expedition under Bradstreet, which marched the following summer into the country bordering upon Lake Erie, and another under Bouquet, to the Indian towns upon the Ohio, was productive of the most beneficial results. Sir William Johnson, the conqueror of Dieskau and superintendent of Indian affairs, accompanied the troops under Bradstreet. At Detroit he was



visited by a large number of the surrounding tribes, who, conscious of their weakness, now sued for peace. Pontiac no longer possessed any authority to sway their councils, nor had they themselves the strength which is a consequence of united action. Under these disheartening circumstances, they were ready to agree to almost any terms the commissioner might think proper to propose. On the 21st of August a treaty was ratified in grand council.

During this convention of the north-western tribes, Bouquet was marching from Carlisle with fifteen hundred men.

By the middle of October he had penetrated to within striking distance of numerous Indian villages upon the Muskingum. During the progress of his march he was met by several deputations from various tribes, who petitioned for peace with a degree of humility singularly in contrast with the ferocity and arrogance they had exhibited the preceding year.

Upon their agreeing to surrender all their prisoners at Fort Pitt the ensuing spring, and to come prepared to perfect a treaty of peace, Bouquet consented to spare their villages. Before the troops retraced their steps, a large number of captives were brought in, and hostages taken for the surrender of the remainder. The Indians did not restore their prisoners without emotion. Many of them had been domiciliated



for years among the respective tribes, and had taken the places of lost sons and daughters. The affection of their foster parents had become fondly entwined around their beloved captives, and they now committed them to the care of the officer appointed to receive them with sighs and tears, and with broken ejaculations of heartfelt sorrow. The conditions imposed by Bouquet upon the banks of the Muskingum, were faithfully observed the following spring at Fort Pitt. The remainder of the prisoners scattered through the various villages were restored to their families with great reluctance and deep anguish on the part of the Indians, and often in direct opposition to the wishes of their adopted children.

“Father,” says Lawaughqua, a Shawanese chief, “we have brought your flesh and blood to you. They have been all united to us by adoption; and although we now deliver them, we will always look upon them as our relations whenever the Great Spirit is pleased that we may visit them. We have taken as much care of them as if they were our own flesh and blood. They are now become unacquainted with your customs and manners, and therefore we request you to use them tenderly and kindly, which will induce them to live contentedly with you.”

In reference to his desire for peace, and on the same occasion, he said: “Father! we will



now comply with every thing you have asked of us, and assure you that we are sincere in every thing we have said. Here is a belt, with the figure of our father, the king of Great Britain, at one end, and the chief of our nation at the other. This represents them holding the chain of friendship, and we hope that neither side will slip their hands from it so long as the sun and moon give light." During the early part of May, 1765, a treaty was concluded, at which George Croghan, the deputy-commissioner, was present. When the council broke up, he left Fort Pitt in company with several of the Indian deputies, on a friendly visit to the tribes of Illinois. He found the latter greatly under the influence of the French, from whose settlements at Vincennes, Cahokia, and Kaskaskia, they received their supplies.

Having early imbibed from their Canadian friends, and from the traders that constantly visited them, an intense hatred of the English, they were not disposed to exchange the impetuous domination of the latter for the easy and politic rule of those who had so long called the red man brother, had slept in his wigwam, had married into his tribe, and had taught him the principles of the Christian religion. As Croghan could not be mistaken in the warm attachment with which the French had inspired all those tribes with whom they had for many years been



brought into contact, the prospect of future difficulties from this source was easily foreseen.

Neither was the conduct of the settlers themselves calculated to promote an amicable understanding with their forest-born neighbours. In 1766, numerous families crossed the Alleghanies and commenced clearing the land on the borders of the Monongahela. This territory never having been purchased from them, the Indians became moody and discontented, and threatened a new outbreak. Already they saw that the day was fast approaching when bands of sturdy emigrants would descend the Ohio and take possession of its rugged but fertile slopes. The efforts of the Indian agent, supported by a proclamation from General Gage, at that time commander-in-chief of the English forces in America, were utterly ineffective with the hardy, but self-willed pioneers, to whom their remonstrances and threats were addressed. The first they laughed at; the second they defied. Caring neither for royal mandates nor Indian warriors, they settled themselves down upon the lands they had chosen, in quiet disregard of both.

Perhaps, also, in the proposed removal of the intruders, the efficiency of Sir William Johnson, the Indian agent, was materially weakened by a project which he himself was at that time contemplating; and which, if it had been carried



out, would have irritated the neighbouring tribes to a far greater degree than the encroachments against which he so vehemently protested. He proposed to buy of the Iroquois, over whom he exercised an almost unbounded influence, the lands south of the Ohio, and to subsequently fortify himself in the possession of a certain portion of the territory thus acquired by a royal grant. The plan was so far matured, that Franklin, then in England, at the instance of his son, the governor of New Jersey, applied to the ministry for a charter. Notwithstanding the petition was opposed by the Ohio company, and conflicted with grants made by Virginia to soldiers who had served in the late French war, and with a similar application from General Lyman, to whom, rather than to Sir William Johnson, the victory of Lake George was said by many to be owing, a company was speedily organized, which, from the influence of a London banker nominally at its head, became subsequently known as the Walpole company. In the meantime, Franklin had succeeded in interesting the ministry in the project, by whom it was referred to the Board of Trade for examination; but the whole scheme finally came to nothing, from the inability to fix the boundaries of the territory south of the Ohio, and from the threatening aspect of Indian affairs.

In the spring of 1768, Sir William Johnson



was directed to make a clearer and more comprehensive treaty with the Indians. A council was accordingly held at Fort Stanwix in October of the same year. Besides Sir William Johnson and his subordinate agents, it was attended by provincial deputies from New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Virginia; and on the part of the Indians, by delegates from the Six Nations, the Delawares, and the Shawanees. At this treaty the Iroquois formally disposed of whatever right and title they possessed in all the territory south of the Ohio and the Alleghany. A portion of the traders, who had suffered so greatly by the late war, were also remunerated by the cession of a large tract of land between the Kanawha and Monongahela Rivers, which was named by them Indiana. The remainder of the western lands were then conveyed by deed to the king, and the purchase money paid. Both grants were signed by the Iroquois deputies alone; but ostensibly in behalf of themselves and the other nations whose delegates were present.

This treaty was no sooner concluded than another great company, styled the Mississippi company, was organized in Virginia, of which George Washington and three of the Lees were prominent members. Arthur Lee was sent to England as agent of the association. His application to the ministry for a grant of two millions of acres was favourably entertained; but the



Board of Trade being preoccupied with plans for controlling the colonial opposition to Townsend's scheme of taxation, could give but little time to matters of minor importance, and in the growing difficulties between the two countries the project was abandoned.

The prospects of the Walpole company were scarcely less promising. The report of Lord Hillsborough was unfavourable to the grant; but an admirable reply by Franklin, entitled the "Ohio Settlements," induced the royal council to set aside the decision of the Board of Trade, and accede to the request of the petitioners.

The Ohio company presently formed a junction with that of Walpole, and the sanction of the king to the establishment of a new, independent colony at the west, was obtained about the middle of August, 1772. Preparations were making to carry out the purpose of the company, when the approach of the American revolution put an end to a scheme which its advocates regarded as one of more than ordinary promise.

But while the Ohio, the Walpole, and the Mississippi companies were petitioning for permission to colonize the west, large numbers of pioneers crossed the mountains, and without caring for, or questioning the royal authority, and with an equal disregard of the rights of the Indians, explored, surveyed, and formed their settlements upon lands south of the Ohio, at



numerous points between the falls of that river and Fort Pitt. As early as 1766, Colonel James Smith and four others had examined the southern portion of Kentucky. After tracing the course of the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers, from Stone's River to the Ohio, Smith returned through the wilderness to Carolina, while his adventurous companions proceeded to Illinois.

In 1767, John Finley, an Indian trader, penetrated into Kentucky from North Carolina, by way of the Cumberland gap. Influenced by Finley's enthusiastic report of the country he had so lately visited, on the 1st of May, 1769, Daniel Boone, accompanied by five associates, left his home on the Yadkin to visit a region which, though but partially known, was becoming celebrated for its delightful climate, its abundance of game, and its extraordinary fertility. By the 1st of June this little band of adventurers had succeeded, after infinite toil, in crossing the mountains, and from the knobs of Red River theirit, admiring eyes beheld, for the first time, the glorious territory which had been the theme of Finley's unmeasured praise. As far as the vision extended, one magnificent and unbroken forest rolled away in undulating waves of densest foliage. In the lowlands grew the succulent cano, affording the finest of pasturage for cattle, while from the uplands, clear of underbrush,



rose the giant boles of lofty trees, whose annual rings indicated a growth of centuries.

Finding everywhere excellent trapping and hunting, this small party explored very thoroughly the northern and central portions of Kentucky, until the capture of Boone and Stuart by the Indians so alarmed their companions, that they sought safety in flight. After a week's restraint, Boone and his fellow-prisoner succeeded in making their escape. Being joined by two other adventurers, one of whom was Squire Boone, a brother to Daniel, the beauty of the country, and the great variety of game, tempted them to remain. But jealous and watchful eyes were around them. It was not long before Stuart was surprised and killed. The man who had accompanied Squire Boone, eager to escape a similar fate, returned home by himself, leaving the two brothers alone in the wilderness.

For twelve months the latter prosecuted their hunting expeditions, and by the exercise of great caution and sagacity were enabled to evade the Indian parties constantly prowling a<sup>round</sup> them. Their ammunition at length failing, Squire Boone returned to Carolina for a fresh supply. Daniel remained behind, fearless though solitary. The journey was successfully accomplished. From the 1st of July, 1770, until the spring of 1771, those two daring men continued their explorations and hunting excursions; and



by their knowledge of woodcraft, and of the artifices usually practised by the Indians, they not only evaded collision with them, but were enabled to bear in safety to Carolina a valuable collection of peltries.

A year before the Boones quitted Kentucky, a party of hunters, under Colonel Knox, explored the middle and southern regions. Their glowing accounts of the country influenced many Virginians, who had served in the French war, to locate the lands which the province had allotted them on the south side of the Ohio River. During 1773, numerous surveys were made in Kentucky, under the personal directions of Captain Bullitt, the brothers M'cAfee, and others. In the summer of 1774, James Harrod erected a log cabin on the present site of the town which now bears his name. A stockade fort speedily grew up around it, and from this period emigration proceeded rapidly.

Deeply incensed by these increasing encroachments, and not unfrequently suffering personal indignity at the hands of rough unscrupulous borderers, the Indians began once more to prepare for war. Some collisions had already taken place, in which, it is to be feared, the settlers were in the wrong. Independent of the dispute, now, rapidly approaching a crisis, between the colonies and Great Britain, a quarrel which



threatened serious consequences, had arisen between Pennsylvania and Virginia.

The small village of Pittsburg, and the country adjacent, being claimed by the latter province, Governor Dunmore authorized Dr. John Connolly, the Indian agent, to take possession of the disputed territory, and embody the settlers into a military corps under the militia laws of Virginia. A proclamation was accordingly issued by Connolly, calling the people together; but before the day arrived, which had been appointed for their assembling, Connolly was arrested by St. Clair, the agent of Pennsylvania. Being subsequently released on his parole, he gathered around him a number of adherents, seized upon Pittsburg and Fort Pitt, and even went so far as to imprison several persons who were obnoxious to him.

To justify the expenses attendant upon retaining an armed force around him, Connolly took advantage of the difficulties already existing between the whites and the Indians, and alarmed the former for their personal safety by calling upon them to be prepared for a renewal of hostilities. Partly influenced by exaggerated reports, and partly by personal hatred, Captain Michael Cresap collected from Zane's station at Wheeling, a number of armed men; and proceeding a short distance up the river, wantonly murdered in cool blood two friendly Shawanease,



in the employ of a Pittsburg trader, who were descending the Ohio in a canoe. The same evening, Cresap and his sanguinary followers attacked an encampment of Indians at Castina, and killed several of them. But neither of these murderous outrages equalled in atrocity one which was perpetrated a few days afterward, at Baker's station, forty miles above Wheeling, by a band of desperadoes headed by one Daniel Greathouse. By a most unworthy artifice, twelve Indians were killed and several others wounded. Among the slain were the whole family of Logan, a celebrated Mingo chief, who had long been known as a firm friend of the English. These atrocious acts were speedily retaliated. While the Shawanees and Delawares were still desirous of remaining at peace, bands of warriors instigated by their own wrongs, and by those of the bereaved Logan, were spreading terror and desolation over the settlements on the Monongahela. Influenced by Sir William Johnson, messengers from the Iroquois endeavoured to restore quiet on the western borders; but it was not until thirteen scalps avenged the death of an equal number of his kindred, that Logan declared his anger appeased.



## CHAPTER IV.

Expedition organized against the Indians on the Scioto—McDonald marches to the Muskingum—Destruction of Indian Villages—Retaliatory invasions—Dunmore's expedition—March of Lewis to the Ohio—Battle of Point Pleasant—Dunmore advances on the Scioto—Propositions for peace—Lewis ordered to return to Point Pleasant—Treaty at Camp Charlotte—Warlike preparations of Great Britain and the colonies—British emissaries among the Indians—Congress organizes an Indian department—How the cause of colonial revolt was explained to the Indians—Colony of Christian Indians on the Muskingum—The Moravain missionaries, Post, Heckewelder and Zeisberger—Morgan appointed Indian agent at Fort Pitt—Hamilton, governor of Detroit—His influence with the north-western tribes—Unsatisfactory conference with Indian delegates at Fort Pitt—McIntosh ordered to the west—Expedition organized against Detroit—Forts McIntosh and Laurens built—Hostilities of the Shawanees and Wyandots.

INFLUENCED by representations received from Connolly, Dunmore, with the concurrence of the Virginia assembly, authorized an expedition against the Indian villages on the Scioto River. While this was being organized, Colonel McDonald collected a smaller force in the vicinity of Wheeling, and descending the Ohio, marched against the town of Wappatomica, on the Muskingum. Unprepared for resistance, the Indians sued for peace. Five chiefs surrendered themselves as hostages, two of whom were sent by McDonald to summon delegates from other tribes.



to unite with him in the ratification of a treaty. Failing to make their appearance at the appointed time, and rumours prevailing that the Indians were taking advantage of the armistice to prepare themselves for a continuance of the war, McDonald proceeded to destroy their villages and lay waste their crops. When this was accomplished, he returned without loss to Wheeling. To retaliate for this destruction of property, the Shawanees, Wyandots, Mingoes, Cayugas, and Delawares made common cause; and from June until September, 1774, the frontier settlements were subjected to repeated attacks.

The large expedition, ordered by Dunmore to be organized, was at length ready to march. It was composed of volunteers and militia, numbering in all some twenty-seven hundred men. Governor Dunmore in person assumed command of one of the two columns into which this force was divided, while General Andrew Lewis was appointed to lead the other. The latter, marching overland from Camp Union, in Greenbrier county, was to proceed to Point Pleasant, at the mouth of the Great Kanawha, where a junction was to be formed with Dunmore, whose troops were descending the Ohio from Fort Pitt. On the 6th of October, eleven hundred men under Lewis reached the appointed rendezvous, and commenced to encamp themselves until Dunmore's division should arrive.



Three days after this, a messenger from the latter, who had halted his force at the mouth of the Big Hockhocking, informed Lewis that the original plan of the campaign had been changed, and directed him to cross the Ohio, and join Dunmore in the vicinity of the Shawanese towns on the Sciota.

Early on the morning of the 10th, while preparations were making to resume the march, a thousand Indians, chiefly Shawanese, commanded by Cornstalk, an able and courageous warrior, were unexpectedly discovered in the neighbourhood of the camp. The contest commenced soon after by a vigorous attack upon a reconnoitering force of Virginians, under Colonel Fleming and Charles Lewis, brother to the commanding officer. The latter was killed almost immediately. The former being badly wounded about the same time, a panic began to spread among the troops, when a reinforcement under Colonel Field restored order and confidence. From sunrise until nearly the close of the day the battle was obstinately maintained on both sides. Sustained by the intrepid example of their respective chiefs, among whom Logan was conspicuous, the confederated warriors fought with unusual courage and determination.

“Be strong! be strong!” shouted Cornstalk to the wavering, and confidence returned at the sound of his voice. Only one warrior showed



signs of fear, and his skull was cleft open by the tomahawk of the resolute chief. A successful stratagem finally terminated the victory in favour of the Virginians. Attacked suddenly in rear by a detachment sent out by Lewis for that purpose, the Indians, placed between two fires, supposing themselves assailed by a fresh body of troops, gradually gave way, and finally retreated precipitately across the Ohio, in the direction of their towns on the Scioto. The victory on the part of the Virginians was decisive, but they had to mourn the loss of seventy-five killed, and nearly double that number wounded. As usual, the number of Indians slain or disabled was never ascertained. Being joined the morning after the action by a reinforcement under Colonel Christian, Lewis left his wounded entrenched and under a competent guard, and pushed forward with great celerity in pursuit of the enemy. At this time Dunmore was marching toward the Scioto; but as he approached to the neighbourhood of the Indian towns, he was met by a deputation of chiefs bearing proposals for a peace, to be negotiated at Fort Pitt, and requesting, in the meanwhile, the withdrawal of all the forces under his command. Dunmore refused to counter-march his troops, but offered to encamp in the vicinity, and receive their propositions. At the same time he sent orders to Lewis to return and encamp his



army at Point Pleasant, his late battle ground. The victorious Virginian, eager to improve an advantage he had purchased at the expense of one-fifth of his entire force, and regarding Dunmore's pacific policy on such an occasion with more than ordinary suspicion, pressed forward upon old Chillicothe, and was only prevented from utterly destroying that town by the approach of Dunmore in person. With great difficulty the latter prevailed upon Lewis to suspend all further hostilities, and retire to the mouth of the Great Kanawha. On the 7th of November, the preliminaries of a treaty were agreed upon, greatly to the chagrin of the militia under Lewis, who panted to revenge the loss of so many brave companions. The acceptance of propositions for peace, when the enemy had already suffered a severe blow, and while a large and confident army was within easy distance of their chief towns, led the excited borderers to charge Dunmore with being influenced to shield the Indians from chastisement by political motives; but it appears more probable that his sympathy was awakened by the abject supplications of a prostrate foe. The Mingoes alone despatched no delegates to the council; but Logan sent to Dunmore, through Colonel Gibson, the speech which has rendered his name so celebrated, and which, for pathetic eloquence, has never yet been excelled.



Six months previous to this treaty at Camp Charlotte, the first revolutionary skirmish took place in the streets of Lexington. From that time both parties steadily prepared for the contest, which was plainly seen to be rapidly approaching.

To alarm the fears of the recusant provinces by the danger of a general border war, British emissaries were sent among the various Indian tribes to enlist their aid in the coming struggle. The Iroquois, influenced by the son of Sir William Johnson, and by the arts of Colonel Guy Johnson, who had succeeded his deceased uncle as Indian superintendent, at once declared in favour of England.

Tearing the western Indians would be brought over in a similar manner, the provincial congress, during the year 1775, organized three Indian departments, over which commissioners were appointed, for the purpose of maintaining friendly relations with such tribes as were disposed to remain neutral. Conferences with the Indians were also ordered to be held in each department, and the reason why the Americans assumed a hostile attitude against England be explained to the Indians by means of allegory. To bring the cause of quarrel to the simple comprehension of the red men, America was compared to a child ordered to carry a pack too heavy for its strength. "The



boy complains, and, for answer, the pack is made a little heavier. Again and again the poor urchin remonstrates; but the bad servants misrepresent the matter to the father, and the boy gets continually a heavier burden, until, at last, almost broken-backed, he throws off the load and says he will carry it no longer."

In the midst of these preparations for war, a peaceful colony of Christian Indians were settled quietly at Shoenbrun, on the Muskingum.

As early as 1758, Christian Frederick Post, the fearless Moravian missionary, had been induced by the governor of Pennsylvania to hold a conference with the Delawares, on the banks of the Big Beaver. The fall of Fort Duquesne, and the subsequent decay of French influence in the north-west, seeming to offer a favourable opportunity for preaching the gospel to the tribes of that region, Post crossed the mounfains in 1761, and settled among the Indian villages in the neighbourhood of the Muskingum. The following year his labours were cheered by the assistance of the meek and self-denying Heeke-welder. The jealousy of the chiefs, however seemed to see, in the clearing of a few a pretext for further encroachments, to be followed by a military post for the protection of settlers; and as Pontiac was at this time still maturing his formidable conspiracy, the



sionaries were sullenly ordered to return to the settlements.

No further attempt was made to christianize the Indians for several years. At length, in the spring of 1768, the Moravian Zeisberger went and established himself among them. The jealous savages "saw nothing but evil in the white man's eye," and sought, by secret conspiracies and open threats, to compel him to abandon his mission. But Zeisberger laboured on, and bore with patient serenity the indignities to which he was exposed. The conversion of a few of the principal Indians animated him to persevere. Presently he was encouraged to settle with his associates, on the banks of the Big Beaver; and, not long after, the Delawares and Wyandots proposed that his little Christian community should take up their abode on the borders of the Muskingum. This invitation was finally accepted, and resulted in founding the village of Shoenbrun, on the 3d of May, 1772. Being joined, the year following, by other converts from the borders of the Susquehannah and Big Beaver, the little Moravian association in the depths of the wilderness, though occasionally regarded with suspicion by the surrounding tribes, slowly increased in numbers, and, for a considerable period, escaped molestation.

But when the battles of Lexington and Bunker's Hill had been fought, the preparations



made by Great Britain and her revolted colonies to gather strength for a prolonged struggle, led the emissaries of both to court the assistance of the red men, and jeopardized in some degree the peaceful seclusion of the Muskingum village.

To break down the influence of British agents at the west, Colonel Morgan, an honest, energetic, and popular trader, was appointed Indian superintendent for the middle department, and in the spring of 1776 took up his residence at Pittsburg. The Pottawatamies and Ottawas, influenced by Governor Hamilton, of Detroit, sought to bring the Delawares and Shawanese into alliance with the British; and for some time these intrigues threatened a general Indian war. Congress becoming alarmed, despatched three commissioners to conciliate the tribes in that quarter; but it was with the greatest difficulty the chiefs could be prevailed upon to attend a council proposed to be held at Pittsburg. At length, however, during the month of October, the commissioners were met by delegates from the Delawares, Senecas, and a part of the Shawanese; but very little good resulted from the conference. The Shawanese speedily joined the northern Indians; and though a portion of the Delawares wavered for a time in their fidelity to Great Britain, they finally followed the counsel of Captain Pipe, one of their principal



chiefs, and ranged themselves under the royal banner.

Although a dubious neutrality was maintained by the various Indian tribes during the year 1776, it was well known that the majority of them were in the British interest, and that a renewal of the war upon the frontiers might be expected at any moment. Colonel Morgan exerted himself to keep the Indians quiet as long as possible; but his efforts, although not altogether unsuccessful, were destined to be frustrated by the treacherous murder of Cornstalk, a brave Shawanese chief, at Fort Randolph, a military post erected at the mouth of the Great Kanawha. Already the threatening aspect of affairs on the Ohio River had led Congress to prepare for the breaking out of hostilities. Thirty large batteaux, forty feet long and nine feet wide, were constructed on the Monongahela, ready to use in an invasion of the Indian country; but, notwithstanding the Mingoes were harassing the frontiers of Virginia, and various predatory bands were constantly crossing the Ohio to attack the settlements in Kentucky, Morgan, justly dreading the effect of a general Indian war, earnestly discountenanced an expedition at this time, and recommended instead that the borderers should themselves be firmly restrained from encroaching upon Indian territory, and that



an attempt should be made to avert the danger by forbearance and conciliation.

This judicious advice being well received by the federal authorities, the proposed expedition was abandoned for the season; but the clamorous outcry for protection on the frontiers, led to its revival shortly after, on a more imposing scale. During the spring of 1778, General Lachlan McIntosh crossed the mountains, at the head of five hundred men, and commenced building a fort, which was subsequently known by his name, on the banks of the Ohio, near to the mouth of the Big Beaver Creek. As the bands of Indian warriors who persevered in maintaining a constant warfare upon the border stations were encouraged in their predatory incursions by Hamilton, the commandant at Detroit, the reduction of that post was made the principal object of the expedition.

In the month of October, one thousand men were assembled at the new fort; but the season was then already so far advanced that the original design was abandoned, and a treaty of peace having been concluded with the Delawares, the army was thrown forward to erect a military post upon the Tuscarawas, preparatory to marching against the Wyandots and other hostile tribes in the neighbourhood of the Sandusky. A stockade work, called Fort Laurens, was accordingly built; and leaving it in garrison of one



hundred and fifty men, under the command of Colonel Gibson, McIntosh returned with the main body of his troops to Fort Pitt.

Left alone and unsupported, deep in the wilderness, Fort Laurens was speedily invested by a large force of Shawanees and Wyandot warriors, who cut off all communication with the Ohio, slew a number of the garrison, and reduced the remainder to great straits, from a want of food. The post was, however, relieved by McIntosh, early in 1779; but it was subsequently found so difficult and dangerous to maintain a proper connection with a military station in the heart of an enemy's country, that the fort was finally evacuated during the following August.



## CHAPTER V.

The public lands—Action of New Jersey, Delaware, and Maryland—New York cedes her claims to Congress—Resolutions adopted by the latter—Invasion of Kentucky by Colonel Byrd—Clarke's expedition against the Ohio Indians—The Moravian Indians—Suspected by both parties—Given by the Iroquois to the Ottawas and Chippewas—Wyandots agree to remove them—The Indian villages on the Muskingum abandoned—Capture of the missionaries—The Moravians settle at Sandusky—Return of a party to the Muskingum—Massacred by the Americans—Crawford's expedition against the Moravians at Sandusky—Gathering of the Wyandots and Delawares—Battle of Sandusky Plains—Retreat of the Americans—Capture of Crawford—His horrible death—Bryant's Station in Kentucky invested by the Indians—Battle of Blue Licks—Clarke's second expedition against the Miami towns—Its success.

IN 1778, when the articles of confederation were under discussion in Congress, New Jersey raised an objection to the proposed plan of union, on the ground that it contained no provision empowering Congress, in the event of a successful issue of the war, to dispose of the crown lands, and other property conquered from Great Britain, and apply the proceeds of such sales toward defraying the expenses of the war. In the early part of 1779, the legislature of Delaware, while assenting to the articles of confederation, claimed for that state a common interest in all the va-



cant territory west of the Allegheny mountains. Three months after this, the representatives of Maryland in Congress, were instructed not to agree to the articles of confederation unless the unsettled crown lands should be held by Congress as common property, with power to dispose of them for the general benefit of the United States, and to organize them, as population increased, into separate and distinct jurisdictions. Nearly all the vacant public lands west of the mountains were covered by the claims of Virginia, New York, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, whose loose and ill defined patents would have taken them anywhere within the boundaries of the two oceans. A prospect of trouble was likely to arise from this cause, inasmuch as the sale of these lands would easily release those states from the debts they might incur during the progress of the war; while the others, whose boundaries were more clearly stated, would have to sustain the heavy expenses attendant upon a prolonged struggle from their internal resources alone.

In an honourable effort to promote harmonious action between the several states, New York, in February, 1780, authorized her delegates to cede to Congress, for the general benefit of the confederacy, whatever claim that state might have in the western lands. This movement was beneficial and well-timed; a more liberal feeling



began to prevail; and Congress, taking advantage of the growing sentiment in favour of the justice of the measure, passed a resolution on the 10th of October, declaring that all unappropriated public lands, which might be ceded to the United States, should be disposed of for the common benefit, and be formed, at the appropriate time, into distinct republican states, of not less than one hundred, nor more than one hundred and fifty miles square. They were also entitled to be received as members of the federal union, and to enjoy the same rights of sovereignty, freedom, and independence, as the other states. To this resolution, which was preceded by another recommending the states interested in the public lands to yield up their respective quotas for the general good, no immediate response was made, though the impression generally became more favourable to the cession, and ultimately resulted in an arrangement which proved satisfactory to all parties.

The invasion of Kentucky, during the summer of this year, by six hundred Canadians and Indians, commanded by Colonel Byrd, though productive of far less injury than might have been expected from numbers so imposing, animated Virginia to resent, in the most vigorous manner, this intrusion upon her jurisdiction. Orders were accordingly despatched to Colonel George Rogers Clark, to enroll a sufficient number of



volunteers, and march against the Indian villages north of the Ohio, and especially against Loramie's Store, a dismantled military station, from whence the Indians drew their supplies.

Clark, who had already distinguished himself by the capture of the British military posts in Illinois, an expedition replete with daring and dramatic incident, immediately proceeded to enlist, from among the rough hunters of Kentucky, a force capable of accomplishing successfully the instructions he had received. Crossing the Ohio at the mouth of the Licking, he first made a sudden dash at the Indian town of Chillicothe, on the Little Miami, and immediately followed up this success by the destruction of the Piqua towns on Mad River, and the demolition of Loramie's store.

This brilliant exploit, joined to the capture of Colonel Hamilton at Vincennes, the year previous, produced a salutary fear among the tribes in alliance with Great Britain, and effectually checked, for a season, their sanguinary incursions.

In the mean while, the Christian Indians, established on the upper waters of the Muskingum, had incurred the hatred of the north-western tribes, and were equally obnoxious to the white settlers on the Ohio. Each accused them of betraying the plans of the other, and already one expedition had been fitted out by the suspi-



cious borderers for the destruction of the Moravian towns. Though the design was not at that time carried into effect, the resentment still remained. The "praying" Indians were charged with having interpreted some letters, addressed to Fort Pitt, which had fallen into the hands of hostile Delawares; and the charge was, unfortunately, but too well founded. The Wyandots dreaded the power of the Moravian missionaries over their meek and inoffensive flocks; and, at length, the propriety of removing the Moravians into Canada, was suggested to the Iroquois delegates during a council held at Niagara.

As the fierce warriors of northern New York claimed their hunting grounds to extend far beyond the Muskingum, the villages of the "praying" Indians were within the limits of their territory. Caring to take no steps themselves against men, whose peaceful and harmless lives inspired their contempt, the Iroquois presented the Moravian communities to the Ottawas and Chippewas, "to make soup of," if they saw fit. The latter, in their turn, passed the donation to the Wyandots. Accordingly, three hundred warriors, led by Elliot, an English agent, and Pimoacan and Pipe, the two principal war chiefs of the Delawares, undertook to break up the Christian settlements on the Muskingum, and remove their inhabitants farther west. Partly by persuasion, and partly by force, they com-



elled the Moravian converts to abandon their peaceful homes, and take up their abode in the vicinity of Sandusky. The mission houses were broken into and plundered of their contents. The missionaries themselves were made prisoners, and carried to Detroit. The wife of Heckewelder, and her infant daughter, after suffering many privations, were permitted to go with the Christian Indians to the place appointed for their exile. It was a long and perilous journey through the wilderness, to Upper Sandusky; but the dangers were shared, and, in some respects, alleviated by the affectionate devotion of the Indian converts to the distressed families of their beloved pastors. To shield themselves from the increasing inclemency of the season, they built rude huts of bark and logs. Having left their crops behind them ungathered in the fields, they suffered greatly throughout the winter for want of food; the less provident of them being obliged to appease their hunger by subsisting upon cattle which themselves had died of starvation. At Detroit an examination of the charges brought against Heckewelder and his companions resulted in their acquittal, and toward the close of November, they were permitted to join their families at Sandusky.

Cruel and indefensible as this invasion of a peaceful settlement may appear, it was yet mild and honourable, when compared with the conduct



of certain Americans, toward a portion of the same unfortunate people, during the early part of the following spring. After passing the winter in great distress, one hundred and fifty of the exiles, part of whom were women and children, were permitted to return to their former homes, to gather the corn they had been constrained to leave behind unharvested. The Christian villages of Shoenbrun and Salem were built, not upon the Muskingum, but upon the west bank of the Tuscarawas, a tributary to that river, and some twelve miles distant from each other. Almost midway between them, but upon the opposite shore, was Gnadenhutten. To these villages the exiles repaired, dividing themselves into three bands to facilitate their labours. While thus engaged, a party of frontier militia, commanded by one Williamson, holding the rank of colonel, reached the vicinity of Gnadenhutten, on the night of the 5th of March. Having secretly arranged their plan of operations, a detachment of sixteen men crossed to the west bank of the river and decoyed the unsuspecting Indians, whom they found busily engaged in the fields beyond, to accompany them to a conference with their commander at Gnadenhutten. As some of the Indians present had formerly been treated with kindness while at Fort Pitt, and as their visitors allured them with hopes of forming a settlement in that vicinity, where they



might pursue their avocations in peace, under the protection of the garrison, they not only willingly consented to cross the river and consult with Williamson, but despatched a messenger to their companions at Salem, to invite their attendance also. No sooner had the runner departed on his mission, than the Indians already at Gnadenhutten were treacherously seized, bound, and thrust into two houses, about which a strong guard was placed. With equal confidence in the friendly professions of the brutal borderers, a party of whom had gone out to meet them under the pretence of escorting them on their way, the Moravian Indians from Salem entered the village, and, on their arrival, were made prisoners and placed in confinement with those who had preceded them.

Williamson now demanded of his men whether the captives should be taken to Fort Pitt, or put to death in retaliation for excesses recently committed by hostile Indians. Of one hundred men, only eighteen advocated the more merciful alternative. Conscious that their fate was sealed, very few of the devoted Indians ventured to supplicate their relentless foes for a remission of the sentence. Those who did so humble themselves found their entreaties unavailing. Still clinging to the Christian's creed, they sang the hymns which their pious instructors had taught them, and murmured the simple prayers they had so often breathed in



their days of peaceful happiness. In the midst of these devotional exercises the work of massacre commenced; and soon, of ninety persons of both sexes, only two boys escaped deliberate butchery by the rifle, the knife, or the tomahawk. After setting fire to the houses in which these horrible atrocities were committed, the sanguinary murderers hastened to Shoenbrun to imbrue their hands in the blood of those Christian Indians who had been sent to gather supplies in the vicinity of that village. Happily, their intentions were frustrated. Tidings of their ruthless act had already preceded them, and on reaching the upper settlement they found it deserted. To the honour of the American name, be it said that this bloody deed was everywhere most vehemently denounced; and although the power of Congress, in the midst of the fearful struggle then pending with England, was insufficient to bring the perpetrators to justice, they were held up to public detestation, as men who had dishonoured their country.

After the close of the revolutionary war, the sympathy which had been excited in favour of the poor remnant of Moravian Indians, induced Congress to adopt measures for their relief. Twelve thousand acres of land around the villages they had formerly occupied, were expressly set apart for the use of the Moravian association. Encouraged by this liberal donation, the



missionaries laboured diligently to extend the blessings of civilization to the neighbouring Indians. Some converts were made, and for a while the little community promised to reward the unwearyed exertions of their pastors; but the evil effects which the children of the forest have always experienced from the proximity of the whites, tended to destroy the good work in which pious and loving hands had been engaged for so many years. As settlements increased around the Moravian mission, the simple inhabitants, exposed to constant temptation, gradually degenerated. The villages becoming, in some respects, the resort of the idle, the sick, and the dissipated, the trustees of the Moravian society grew weary of their charge, and retroceded the lands to Congress at half the price the improvements alone had cost them. The right of the Indians in the land being purchased about the same time, a small Moravian station on the river Thames, in Canada, is all that now remains of those flourishing settlements, once the abode of peaceful industry, and subsequently the scene of so terrible a tragedy.

Returning to the Ohio, with the blood of the Christian Indians fresh upon their hands, a new expedition was immediately organized, having for its object a similar onslaught upon those at Sandusky. Sanguinary and remorseless as the previous enterprise had proved, there were yet



found numerous volunteers ready to undertake another. By the last week in May, 1782, four hundred and eighty men were assembled at the old Mingo towns, on the west bank of the Ohio River. Williamson, the brutal leader in the late incursion, aspired to command this new and greatly increased force; but the choice fell upon Colonel Crawford, a brave provincial officer, a friend of Washington, and one thoroughly experienced in Indian warfare. He accepted the appointment with great reluctance, Williamson being selected to serve under him as second in command.

Secretly as this new campaign had been arranged, neither the number of men engaged in it, nor their purposes, remained unknown to the watchful Indian spies. They saw the well-mounted troops break up their camp near the Ohio—witnessed their disappointment at finding Shoenbrun still uninhabited—and, notwithstanding the rapidity of their march, never lost sight of them until they entered the deserted towns at Sandusky. Briers and weeds were growing about the few huts that remained standing, the alarmed Moravian converts having removed to Scioto some time previous. Being foiled thus far in their designs, a council of officers was held on the 6th of June, at which it was decided to attempt the surprise, by a forced march, of the Wyandot towns on the Upper Sandusky.



But the Wyandot and Delaware warriors, already apprized of the vicinity of their enemies, and burning to revenge upon Williamson the massacre of their brethren at Gnadenhutten, were assembling in great strength. About two o'clock the next day they attacked Crawford's advance guard on the plains of Sandusky, and in a short time the action became general. The battle was hotly contested until dark, when the firing ceased. Both parties rested on their arms opposite each other during the night, with their respective watch-fires blazing midway between.

Not anticipating any such resistance, the Americans were taken by surprise. As the Indians were hourly increasing in numbers, a council of officers was held early the following morning, at which a retreat was decided upon. The rest of the day was accordingly spent in burying the dead, and attending to the comforts of the wounded.

In the mean while the Indians had been silently surrounding the American camp, leaving no opening for escape except by way of Sandusky. By the time this was accomplished, the sun was well nigh down; but the reports brought in of Crawford's preparations rendering them fearful lest he should elude their vigilance during the night, they commenced at once a furious attack. As night closed in, the firing again ceased. This second assault probably hastened the departure



of the harassed troops. One-third of their number, under the impression that the Indians would pursue the main body, broke up into small parties, and, scattering through the forest, attempted in this manner to reach their homes. Of all these fugitive bands, scarcely one succeeded in gaining the Ohio. The main body, consisting of some three hundred men, was more fortunate; the Indians contenting themselves with hunting down those who had separated from it. At the head of the larger force, thus left comparatively unmolested, rode Crawford. Uneasy at the absence of his son, his son-in-law, and his two nephews, he finally halted by the wayside to interrogate the retreating troops as they passed, concerning them. His deep anxiety for the safety of others proved fatal to himself. Falling behind through the weariness of his horse, he was captured on the third day, by a party of Delawares, and being led by them to the vicinity of one of their towns on Tyemochtee Creek, a few miles west of Sandusky, was there put to death by roasting at a slow fire, and by other tortures too horrible to narrate.

Elated by the signal successes gained over Crawford's troops, detachments from all the north-western tribes, to the number of five hundred warriors, assembled soon after, and penetrating secretly into Kentucky, on the 14th of August, suddenly invested Bryant's station,



on the Elkhorn. By the daring courage of the garrison the station was saved. Conscious that reinforcements were approaching, the Indians raised the siege at the close of the second day, and retreated across the Licking, in the direction of the Lower Blue Licks. At this point they were attacked on the 19th, by a party of one hundred and eighty mounted men, under command of Colonel John Todd. After a severe battle the Americans were signally defeated, with the loss of sixty-seven killed and twelve wounded.

When the tidings of this terrible disaster reached Colonel George Rogers Clark, then in command of a regiment of Virginia state troops, stationed at the falls of the Ohio, he resolved upon organizing an expedition against the Indians on the Miami, and called upon the Kentuckians to assist him with reinforcements. By the close of September a thousand men were again assembled at the mouth of the Licking. Placing himself at their head, Clark penetrated into the heart of the Indian country. No resistance was offered; but having laid waste the whole of the Indian settlements between the two Miamies, he returned to his station at Louisville.



## CHAPTER VI.

Putnam's memorial to Congress—Virginia cedes her lands north of the Ohio—Putnam and Tupper propose a settlement in the west—Originate the second Ohio company—Plan of the association—Connecticut relinquishes her claim to western lands—Dr. Cutler negotiates a grant for the Ohio company—Symmes' grant—Ohio company locate their grant between the Muskingum and Hockhocking Rivers—Reasons for so doing—North-west territory organized—St. Clair appointed governor—Provisions of the territorial ordinances—Settlers land at the mouth of the Muskingum—Education and religion promoted by the Ohio company—Meet west of the mountains, and name the new settlement Marietta—Ancient fortifications preserved—Temporary laws—Arrival of St. Clair—Washington county organized—First court—Difficulty with Indians—Progress of the settlement—Description of the “Campus Martius”—Symmes and Stites in the Miami valley—Columbia, at the mouth of the Little Miami, settled—Great flood—Losantiville settled—Treaty with the Indians at Fort Harmar—Feast on that occasion—Scarcity of provisions—Death of Judge Varnum.

SOON after the peace of 1783, while the title to the North-west or Ohio Territory was yet in dispute between the United States, on the one hand, and Virginia and Connecticut on the other, General Rufus Putnam, a meritorious officer of the Revolution, forwarded to Washington the memorial of certain persons claiming land bounties, under the resolutions adopted by Congress in 1776 and 1780. This memorial, with



the accompanying letter of Putnam, Washington transmitted to Congress, but the latter body declared itself unable to appropriate the lands claimed, as they were yet held by the states of Virginia and Connecticut.

The following year Virginia relinquished to the United States her right and title to all lands north-west of the Ohio, with the exception of a reservation between the Scioto and Little Miami Rivers, with which she designed rewarding her soldiers of the Revolution. Connecticut, however, still adhered to her claim, which included nearly all of the present state of Ohio north of the forty-first degree of latitude.

Shortly subsequent to the cession of her Ohio lands by Virginia, Congress appointed one surveyor from each of the states, to survey and lay out such tracts as had already been purchased from the Indians. From Massachusetts, Putnam was first chosen; but he being otherwise employed, his place was filled by Benjamin Tupper, likewise an officer of the Revolution. Tupper, during the year 1785, went as far west as Pittsburgh. Returning home, he and Putnam, desiring to settle in the west, with which they were highly delighted, conferred together with regard to once more memorializing Congress upon the subject of their bounty claims.

The result of their conference was a notice in the public prints, answered by a convention com-



posed of eleven delegates from nine counties of Massachusetts, which met at Boston, on the 1st of March, 1786, to form an association for the purchase and settlement of lands in the west. By the 3d of March, articles of association, under the name of the "Ohio Company," were drawn up and agreed to, and subscriptions begun. The plan adopted was, in substance, as follows.

One million dollars, chiefly in continental certificates, was to be raised, in one thousand shares, of a thousand dollars each. Upon each share ten dollars was to be paid in specie, for defraying the expenses of agents, and other contingent charges. Every twenty shareholders were entitled to an agent or representative, and these agents were to choose the directors of the company. One year's interest, due on the continental certificates, was to be used in establishing a settlement, and aiding such persons as had not sufficient means of their own to remove thither.

On the 8th of March, 1787, the company held a second meeting at Boston. Generals Parsons and Putnam, and the Rev. Dr. Cutler, were chosen directors. During the year two hundred and fifty shares had been subscribed to the stock of the association. Connecticut had also ceded to the general government all her Ohio lands, with the exception of a tract now known as the western reserve; so that the last obstacle in the way of



a congressional grant was removed. By his two associates, Dr. Cutler was appointed to negotiate a contract with Congress for lands in the "Great Western Territory." With considerable difficulty and management, he succeeded in obtaining for the Ohio company, and for a number of private speculators, a grant of nearly five millions of acres, at two-thirds of a dollar the acre. Of this the company were to have one million five hundred thousand acres; but remissness in the payments of stockholders, and other causes, reduced their final possessions to something less than a million. A similar contract was soon after concluded by Congress with John Cleve Symmes, of New Jersey, for the sale of the rich country lying between the two Miamies, and extending northerly from the Ohio, so as to include six hundred thousand acres.

To locate their grant was the next step of the Ohio company. By the advice of Thomas Hutchins, the United States geographer, who was well acquainted with the country, they selected lands lying along the Ohio, and including the lower waters of the Hockhocking and Muskingum Rivers. Others, far more fertile, and easier of cultivation might have been chosen; but as most of the purchase was intended for immediate settlement, its vicinity to Fort Harmar, and to the frontier posts of Virginia and Penn-



sylvania, as well as its comparative remoteness from the Indian towns, were advantages too favourable to be overlooked.

During the fall of 1787, active preparations were made for sending out, early in the following year, a company of forty-eight persons, consisting of surveyors, mechanics, and labourers, under the superintendence of General Putnam. These were to commence an actual settlement upon a large tract of land, at the mouth of the Muskingum, and opposite to Fort Harmar, which had been selected as the site of an extensive city.

While the first steps were thus taken toward the settlement of the north-west, Congress drew up and passed an ordinance for its government, which was to be entrusted to a governor, secretary, and three judges. These officers, together with all others of an executive or military character, were to be appointed by Congress; and accordingly that body presently elected its then president, General Arthur St. Clair, governor; Winthrop Sergeant, secretary; and Samuel H. Parsons, James M. Varnum, and John Cleve Symmes, judges. Authority was given to the governor and judges to compile and publish local laws suitable to the wants of the territory, until, by the increase of its white male inhabitants to five thousand, it should be entitled to a representative assembly and legislative council, the



latter to be chosen by Congress. Provision was also made for the future division of the territory into three or five states, each to be admitted into the Union with the same privileges and responsibilities as the old thirteen states, so soon as it should contain sixty thousand free inhabitants. Slavery and involuntary servitude were expressly prohibited.

January was closing, in 1788, when the advance party of the Ohio pioneers, composed of twenty-two boat-builders and mechanics, after a laborious march through the wintry wilderness of the Allegheny mountains, reached the Youghiogany River, at a point some thirty miles above Pittsburg. Here they were soon joined by the remainder of the expedition, with whom came Putnam, their energetic leader. Infusing the activity of his own spirit into that of his little company, by the 2d of April they had finished their boats, and on the afternoon of that day were hastening toward the scene of their future labours.

About sunrise, on the 5th morning following, they discerned Fort Harmar, which dimly appeared through the mists of a drizzling rain. Hidden by the dense foliage, the mouth of the Muskingum, on the upper bank of which was their landing-place, had been passed without notice, and it was not until noon that they were safely on shore. Here they were warmly wel-



comed by Captain Pipes, the renowned Delaware chief, so successful against Crawford, who, with seventy of his tribe, was trafficking with the traders at Fort Harmar. The emigrants were delighted with the appearance of their new lands, already clothed with luxurious vegetation. Cheered by the songs of birds, and with a brightening sky above them, they set immediately to work. Boards for temporary huts were landed, and the broad marquee of Putnam was soon erected.

Meanwhile, the last meeting of the directors and agents, east of the Alleghenies, was held at Providence, Rhode Island. One of the prominent subjects under consideration related to the encouragement of religion and education in the settlement. The directors were requested to pay as early attention as possible to the education of youth and the promotion of public worship. For these important purposes, "the proprietors, and others of benevolent and liberal minds," were appealed to, "to contribute to the formation of a fund, to be solely appropriated thereto." At a former meeting, extensive tracts had been reserved for the benefit of a university, and for the support of religion. Authorized by the directors, Dr. Cutler presently engaged the services of Daniel Story, a young minister of eminent piety and fine abilities, who arrived in the settlement during the following year.

On the 2d of July the associates met for the



first time west of the mountains, to decide upon a name for their new city, which, in the mean time, had been laid out handsomely, and with great regularity. In honour of Marie Antoinette, the beautiful but ill-starred queen of Louis XVI., whose efforts in behalf of American independence were still gratefully remembered, it was determined to call the settlement Marietta. While laying out the city, extensive reserves were made for public squares. Included within these were many interesting remains of an ancient fortified town, which are, by this means, still in good preservation. A square was likewise reserved upon which to build an extensive block-house, the erection of which was already begun. To this the directors, who were mostly men of classical attainments, gave the appropriate name of "Campus Martius."

On the 4th of July, which was celebrated in grand style, a temporary code of laws, previously prepared by the directors, was posted up on a beech tree. So far, however, laws had seemed unnecessary; but one slight difference, which was soon compromised, having taken place during the three months existence of the settlement. Indeed, in this and other respects, to use the words of Washington, "no colony in America was ever settled under such favourable auspices."

Five days afterward, on Wednesday, the 9th



of July, St. Clair arrived at Fort Harmar, and immediately, in conjunction with the judges, began to put the colony into shape. On the 25th, a law was published for the organization of the militia; and the next day the governor's proclamation appeared, erecting all the country east of the Scioto River, or nearly one-half of the present state of Ohio, into the county of Washington. On the 2d of September following, the first court was organized.

For some time past efforts had been made to secure a definite treaty with the Indians. Arrangements were completed for holding a council on the 13th of July, at Duncan's Falls, on the Muskingum River, about sixty miles from its mouth. But on the night before the council was to assemble, a party of abandoned Chippewas, designing to rob the American encampment, fired on the sentries. Returning the fire, the sentries killed one of their assailants, and wounded a second. Although most of the Indians who had assembled, denied any connivance in this attack, it led to their delaying the proposed treaty for several months.

Notwithstanding this doubtful attitude of the red men, coupled as it was with the fact that many of them still lingered about the settlement, killing off the game, "to keep it from the white hunter," and grumbling their dissatisfaction at the clearing of lands and building of houses,



affairs at Marietta went on prosperously and pleasantly. Houses were being erected constantly yet not fast enough to supply the wants of new-comers, who had increased the original number of settlers to one hundred and thirty-two. Considerable advance was made in clearing lands, and the harvest of the year was abundant and highly satisfactory. By winter, the works at Campus Martius began to assume a formidable appearance. This fortification, designed to be one of the strongest in the west, was laid out in a perfect square, with a block-house, surmounted by a watch-tower, at each angle. Uniting with the block-houses, and forming the curtains of the fortress, were four rows of dwellings, two stories high, calculated to lodge, if necessary, nearly nine hundred persons. All this was covered by one roof. Within the square thus formed was a large open space, in the centre of which a well was dug. In 1791, outer works were added, consisting of a row of palisades running from corner to corner of the block-houses, outside of which was a very large and strong picket fence. An additional defence, or abatis, made of the tops and branches of trees, sharpened and pointing outward, rendered it next to impossible for an Indian enemy to gain admission, even within the outworks.

While the Ohio company were thus planting their little colony, Symmes, whose purchase has



been noticed previously, was busily endeavouring to establish settlements in the more exposed valley between the two Miamies, which, with the Kentuckians, was known by the somewhat repulsive title of "the slaughter-house." Proposing to build a great city at the North Bend, near the mouth of the Great Miami, in July, 1788, he started for the west with thirty persons and eight four-horse wagons. Maysville, Kentucky, was reached in September. Here they were joined by a party of emigrants led by Major Stites, of Pennsylvania, who had purchased a portion of Symmes' tract. While the emigrants waited for troops to protect their farther advance, Symmes visited the site of his proposed city. The view of it greatly revived his spirits, which had of late been considerably depressed, in consequence of a dispute between himself and Congress, which threatened the annulment of his contract. Returning to Maysville, in December, all were prepared to start down the river, when their boats were crushed in by the ice, and their cattle and provisions lost. Symmes' elastic spirits had scarcely recovered from this shock, when a rise in the Ohio deluged the point where his city was to have been with fifteen feet of water.

Meanwhile, Stites, with a little party of twenty-six persons, had erected a block-house and laid out a town, which he called Columbia,



at the mouth of the Little Miami, where the fertile soil had induced even the Indians to make a partial clearing. From the red men this humble settlement received no injury; but, by the freshet above alluded to, every house in the town save one was deluged, and the soldiers had to escape from the roof of their block-house in a boat.

This flood, which occurred in January, 1789, by showing the danger to which Marietta, Columbia, and North Bend were exposed, led to the rapid settlement of Losantiville, now Cincinnati, which, in the previous August, had been laid out by Matthias Denman, Robert Patterson, and John Kilson, on the elevated plain immediately opposite the mouth of Licking River. On the 24th or 25th of December, an actual settlement was commenced, a few log huts and a block-house being erected. Though placed in the most exposed situation, these buildings sustained no damage from the freshet.

Returning to the mouth of the Muskingum, we find, on the 2d of January, the great log council-house near Fort Harmar, the scene of an important treaty with the western tribes, which is now being concluded after but little less than a thirty days' "talk." Much difficulty had been experienced in bringing the Indians to agree to distinct terms. Received with uniform kindness and hospitality by the Marietta colo-



nists, whom they had frequently visited during the summer and fall, they were at last induced to consent to an amicable arrangement of difficulties. Two separate treaties were made,—one with the Iroquois, and another with the Delawares, Ottawas, Wyandots, Chippewas, Pottawatamies, and Sacs.

Winter had set in earlier and with greater severity than common. The river could not be navigated on account of the ice. Flour was not to be had, and its only substitute was boiled corn, or coarse meal. The deer and bears, upon which the settlers wholly relied for animal food, had been well nigh exterminated by the red hunters, who, for the last six months, had ranged the neighbouring woods. Yet, scarce as suitable provisions were, so entirely had the termination of the late treaty freed the colonists from their fears of an Indian war, that a grand banquet was prepared in the Campus Martius, to which the principal chiefs were invited. "They behaved themselves with very great decorum, and an admirable harmony prevailed throughout the day." This was on the 12th of January. On the 13th the Indians began to disperse and return to their homes, apparently well satisfied.

In the midst of their rejoicings at the conclusion of this treaty, the settlers were called upon to mourn the death of Judge Varnum. He was a native of Rhode Island, and an active



projector of the Ohio company. Amiable and refined in his manners, liberally educated, and possessed of sound legal attainments, he enjoyed the love and esteem of all who knew him, and his death was universally regretted.

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## CHAPTER VII.

**A** desultory Indian war—Surveying party attacked—Capture of Gardner near Waterford—His escape—St. Clair calls upon Congress for assistance—Is authorized to call out the frontier militia—Death of Judge Parsons—Increase of settlements in Ohio—Belpré, Waterford, and Millsborough founded—Fort Washington commenced at Lesantiville—Cincinnati named by St. Clair—Famishing condition of the Ohio settlers—Isaac Williams—His noble and disinterested benevolence—Indian outrages—Harmar's expedition against the Maumee towns—Defeat of Colonel Hardin—Second defeat of Colonel Hardin—Return of the army to Fort Washington—Strictures on the conduct of Harmar and Hardin—Massacre at Big Bottom—Millsborough threatened—Indian declaration of war.

BEFORE the close of the year it became evident, that however sincere might have been the determination of those Indians who had signed the late treaty, the quiet and security it promised would be of brief duration. Parties of the Wabash tribes, chiefly Shawanees, who had not agreed to the treaty, and Miamies, who had repudiated it, still continued to wage a predatory



warfare, as barbarous as it was annoying, against their old enemies, the "Long Knives" of Kentucky. Nor was the revenge of the Kentuckians slow to follow—bloody and fearful—and blindly striking friend as well as foe.

North of the Ohio, especially in Symmes' tract, the alarm was much greater than the actual injury. Yet, even in the Ohio company's purchase, murders were committed. On the 7th of August, a band of Indians, supposed to be Shawanese, made an attack upon a surveying party, consisting of the surveyor, Mr. Mathews, and four assistants, with seven soldiers acting as guards. It was in the morning, while they were yet in camp, and they had just sat down to breakfast. The first notice given of the enemy was the discharge of two guns, by which one man was instantly killed. The other ball, intended for Mathews, passed through his shirt, grazing his skin. As the rest of the party started up in alarm, the Indians, with fierce yells, poured in a volley. All the soldiers fell dead but one. Of the whole party but five remained. These, flying in various directions, after undergoing numerous and distressing hardships, finally gained places of safety.

A little later in the year, a marauding party of Shawanese, while hovering about the new settlement of Waterford, some twenty miles up the Muskingum, fell in with one of the colonists, a



young man named Gardner, and took him prisoner. On the second night after his capture, Gardner was enabled, by persevering efforts, to slip off the thongs with which he was bound, without disturbing the Indians. All that night and the following day, he walked rapidly in the direction of the settlements, scarcely stopping even to drink. At night he crept into a hollow log, where he slept well and safely. Almost worn down by hunger and fatigue, about dusk of the next evening he reached home, where he was welcomed as one returned from the dead.

The fact of these outrages, together with numerous instances of petty but annoying deprivations, was laid before Congress by St. Clair. Moved by his representations, and by the long succession of sanguinary attacks upon the settlements of Kentucky, Congress authorized the president to call out the militia. Washington himself had doubted the justice of a war against the Indians of the Wabash. In October, however, he was compelled to empower St. Clair, if he should find it absolutely necessary, to draw fifteen hundred men from western Virginia and Pennsylvania. At the same time he desired the governor to send some experienced person to find out, if he could, the real sentiments of the north-western tribes.

Meanwhile, the colony on the Muskingum had been slowly but steadily progressing. Fifty-



seven families, and one hundred and fifty-two men were added to the number of inhabitants. Few deaths had taken place, and these mostly of children. The most unfortunate event of the year was the death of Judge Parsons, who was drowned by the oversetting of his canoe while descending the rapids of Big Beaver Creek.

During the year nine associations were formed for the establishment of settlements at various points in the purchase. Of these, two were already begun at Belpré, or "Belle-prairie," a fertile tract of land near the mouth of the Little Hockhocking; and two others at Waterford and Millsborough, some twenty miles above Marietta, on the Muskingum. At the latter place a mill was in successful operation—the first in Ohio.

The rich valley between the Miamies, notwithstanding its proximity to the hostile tribes, was fast filling up. During the summer Major Doughty arrived at Losantiville with one hundred and forty soldiers, and immediately began the building of Fort Washington, on the ground since occupied by Mrs. Trollope's bazaar. His opportune appearance was a great relief to the settlers, who, protected by but nineteen soldiers, had been sadly alarmed by rumours of a projected incursion of the Indians. Toward the close of December, General Harmar came down with three hundred additional troops, and encamped at the mouth of Licking River, on the



Kentucky shore. He was followed in a few days by St. Clair, who proceeded to organize the settlement into the county of Hamilton. He also changed the name of Losantiville to Cincinnati, in honour of the society so called. From this time until near the middle of the ensuing summer, all went on well in the Miami valley.

But a severe trial awaited the settlements of the Ohio company. Scarcely had the inhabitants recovered from the alarm created by the ravages of small-pox, which broke out in January, and carried off several of their number, when they began to suffer from a scarcity of provisions amounting almost to famine. An early frost had prevented a full harvest of corn, and game was not to be found, except in small quantities. By the middle of May, 1790, the scarcity was felt in all parts of the settlement, and by all classes. Many persons were reduced to the necessity of eating nettle and potato tops. Most of the corn gathered had been touched by frost, and became mouldy in the granaries. When ground and made into bread, it produced in many people sickness and vomiting; yet even this sold at a price far beyond the means of the ordinary class of settlers. As the season advanced, their fears of future scarcity were dissipated by the rich promise of the fields, from which they greedily gathered the half-grown corn and beans. But before they were enabled to do this, actual star-



vation had approached so nigh that, in some instances, the smaller children were compelled to draw their subsistence from half a potato a day.

An instance of practical benevolence was produced by this season of want, which the pioneers of the Marietta settlement long and gratefully remembered. On the Virginia shore, fronting the Muskingum, dwelt Isaac Williams, a plain, blunt backwoods farmer, whose coarse hunting-shirt and rough bearskin cap covered a heart that prompted to deeds of kindness, and a head that knew how to carry out the suggestions of sympathy. Being enabled to plant early, he had secured an abundant harvest of corn. When the scarcity became apparent, a company of speculators urged him to sell them his whole crop, offering as high as a dollar and a quarter the bushel for it. His refusal was prompt and decided. But when the need became pressing, he called the settlers together, and distributed among them the contents of his granary, at the lowest price of the most plenteous years, taking money where it was offered, and giving credit where the applicant was penniless, until a favourable season should enable him to pay the debt. By this liberality of the rude frontiersman, much of the asperity of the famine was removed, and probably the extreme of starvation prevented.

Hardly had the growing harvest quieted their apprehensions of perishing from hunger, when



the colonists were subjected to a new alarm. During the summer frequent attacks had been made by bands of savages upon boats going down the Ohio; and, in many cases, their occupants, mostly emigrants to Kentucky, were butchered with horrible barbarities. As the scene of these attacks was generally far below Marietta, they produced no great apprehension among the people there. But the murder of two German boys, at Neill's Station, on the Virginia shore, nearly opposite to Belpré, aroused them to a sense of their own danger. To add to the fears thus excited, St. Clair, who had been as far west as Kaskaskia, returned suddenly to Cincinnati with the intelligence, received through the messenger whom he had despatched the previous year to sound the intentions of the north-western savages, that they were determined upon an organized and effective war. Kentucky was already clamorous for the marching of an army against the Indian towns. Finding such a course unavoidable, St. Clair concerted with Harmar the plan of a campaign, and called upon Pennsylvania and Virginia for fifteen hundred militia.

By the 30th of September, three hundred and twenty regulars, and two quotas of Pennsylvania and Kentucky militia, in all about fourteen hundred men, were assembled at Cincinnati. On that day the expedition, under the command of Harmar, began its march. The destined point



of attack was the Indian towns on the Maumee River.

Encumbered with baggage, and compelled to cut a road through the old war-path they were following, the army moved slowly; and it was not until the 17th of October that they reached the Miami villages upon the Maumee, finding nothing but the deserted wigwams. Burning these, and destroying a large quantity of corn, Harmar encamped upon the ground, where he remained a week, uncertain how to act, or unable to carry out his concerted plans.

Meanwhile, the forest around him swarmed with numerous but invisible enemies. Discovering signs of these, Colonel Hardin, with one hundred and fifty of his Kentucky militia, and thirty regulars under the command of Captain Armstrong, was sent out to scour the woods in search.

A few miles from camp, the smoke of Indian fires was discovered. Not supposing the enemy in any force, Hardin unwarily pushed forward, until a sharp volley, bursting suddenly from the tall grass and matted bushes, made it evident that he had fallen into an ambuscade. All the militia, with the exception of nine, immediately fled, bearing their mortified leader along with them. Such as remained, joined with the regulars, who obstinately held their ground until but seven were left alive. Armstrong, their com-



mander, escaped by throwing himself into a thicket, where he lay hid until night, the enemy constantly passing and repassing his place of concealment. Favoured by the darkness, he succeeded in reaching the camp.

Apparently satisfied with the damage he had already done, though not with the result of this skirmish, Harmar, two days afterward, ordered a homeward march. That night, when about ten miles distant from the late camp, Hardin, wishing to retrieve his previous disaster, persuaded the commander-in-chief to place some three hundred militia, with sixty regulars led by Major Willis, at his disposal. With this force he marched back toward the ruined villages, which he had reason to believe were again occupied by the Indians. Soon after sunrise the following morning, a small party of the enemy discovered themselves. At the first fire they fled in apparent consternation, pursued by the militia. Upon the regular troops, thus left alone, a murderous discharge now broke from the main body of the Indians, who had thus drawn them into a cleverly-planned ambuscade. Firmly and courageously, though deserted by a greater part of the militia, they maintained their ground, struggling fiercely with their exasperated and vindictive foes. Hemmed in by a force far outnumbering themselves, they fought until scarcely one was left to raise a musket. Of the whole detachment but ten escaped; the



rest, with their gallant major, had fallen where the fight begun. Of the militia, many of whom returned and took part in the battle, too late, however, to do else than delay for a little while the inevitable and disastrous defeat, ninety-eight were killed and ten wounded.

Hardin fell back upon the main army, which, on the following morning, took up its line of march for Fort Washington, leisurely, and in perfect order.

Notwithstanding these sanguinary repulses, Harmar, having destroyed the Indian towns, laid claim to victory, which neither the people of the West nor the savages seemed willing to allow. So keen, indeed, were the strictures of the former, that both he and Hardin demanded a court-martial, which resulted in their acquittal. To the Indians their successes gave new courage, which soon evinced itself in furious onslaughts upon the whole line of the Kentucky and Ohio frontier. Now it was that for the first time since their settlement, the Muskingum colonists were to experience the full horrors of border warfare.

In the course of the year a new settlement had been made at Big Bottom, a remarkably fine tract of lowland, lying along the Muskingum, some thirty miles from its mouth. The settlers, thirty-six in number, were mostly young men, raw to border life. Unsuspicious of danger,



they had left their block-house unfinished. Without any regular system of defence, keeping no watch, and even allowing their dogs to sleep in the block-house, they discovered a lamentable want of forethought, for which they were to suffer terribly.

About dusk on the evening of the 2d of January, 1791, while all were either eating or cooking their suppers, a war party of Indians, who during the whole afternoon had been watching the settlers from the high grounds on the opposite shore, crossing over the river on the ice, and forming into two divisions, crept noiselessly upon their unsuspecting victims. While one party surprised and took prisoners the four occupants of a little cabin, a short distance up the river, the other, headed by a warrior of remarkable size and strength, without alarming the inmates, had surrounded the block-house. Throwing open the door, their leader placed his back against it, while the rest shot down the white men around the fire. So sudden was the attack that scarce a show of resistance was made by the affrighted settlers. Before they had time to snatch up their guns, the work of slaughter was nearly over. But as the Indians rushed in to complete with the tomahawk what their rifles left unfinished, Mrs. Meeks, a stout resolute woman, seizing an axe, dealt a fierce blow at the foremost warrior, inflicting a fearful gash in his cheek, that



severed nearly half the face. Before she could a second time raise the axe, a tomahawk in the hands of another savage had cleft the unfortunate woman's skull. One young man, while the savages were slaughtering his comrades, clambered upon the roof the block-house, vainly hoping to escape. Discovered by those without, he agonizingly entreated them to spare his life, but his appeal was cut short with a rifle-ball. He was the last to suffer. His brother, a lad of sixteen, was found secreted among the bedding. Throwing himself at the feet of one of the warriors, he implored his protection. The chief, compassionating his youth, interposed between him and a dozen uplifted tomahawks, and succeeded in saving his life.

Piling the bodies of the slain, twelve in number, in a heap, the Indians covered them with boards torn up from the floor of the block-house. Then, kindling a fire, which, however, did not long burn, they departed, with the intention of surprising some of the lower settlements.

But the appeals of the young man shot upon the roof of the block-house had not been altogether vainly uttered. A short distance lower down the river was a small cabin, occupied by two brothers of the name of Ballard. Alarmed by the crack of the Indian rifles, they rushed out of their cabin, and hastened toward the block-house, where they would inevitably have shared the fate



of their unfortunate comrades. Hearing the cries of the young man, and at once conjecturing the true state of affairs, they ran back to the cabin, snatched up their rifles, and hastened through the woods down the river, giving every-where the alarm.

Great was the consternation occasioned, and many a heart beat anxiously during that night, in the little block-houses which the intelligence of the Ballards speedily filled. About dawn of the next day the Indians made their appearance at Millsborough, the first settlement below the scene of the late massacre. Finding the people prepared to receive them, they hastily retreated to the north, carrying with them four prisoners, the scalps of the murdered settlers, and consider-able plunder. Before departing, they hung up a war-club in a conspicuous place, to show that they had acted, not as a marauding band, but as the forerunners of a formal and declared war.

On the 4th of January, a party from Water-ford ventured to visit the ruined settlement. The remains of the unfortunate associates, blackened and disfigured by the action of the fire with which it had been attempted to destroy them, were mournfully gathered together and buried in one grave beneath the roof of the block-house.



## CHAPTER VIII.

Disastrous consequences of Harmar's campaign—Belpré and Waterford fortified—The rangers—General Putnam requests additional military support from the government—Military preparations at Waterford—An Indian stratagem—Independent conduct of the people of Kentucky—General Scott's expedition against the Indian towns on the Wabash—Colonel Wilkinson's expedition against the Eel River Indians—Design of the campaign under General St. Clair—St. Clair's army commences its march—Desertion of the Kentucky volunteers—St. Clair's defeat—Courageous conduct of St. Clair during the battle—His honourable acquittal from the charges preferred against him—The appearance of St. Clair's battle field after the defeat.

THE disastrous consequences of Harmar's campaign were now to be felt. Elated by their successive victories over Hardin, and exasperated by the destruction of their towns, the Indians, during the winter of 1791, resolved to exterminate every white inhabitant north of the Ohio River. The bold avowal of this determination caused all the straggling settlers to abandon their plantations and seek refuge behind the defences of Marietta, Belpré, and Waterford. At the two places last mentioned, extensive and well-planned military stations were constructed in this emergency, and all the able-bodied men subjected themselves voluntarily to a strict rou-



tine of military duty. Spies or rangers, generally three for each station, were employed to traverse the woods daily, for a distance of eight or ten miles around the garrison. These men were selected for their known courage and hardihood—for their knowledge of woodcraft, and for their thorough acquaintance with all the tricks and lures which usually form the strategy of Indian warfare. Adopting in their perambulations the costume of their foe, the rangers kept careful watch and ward over the garrisons, whose safety from surprise was entrusted to their care, and rendered valuable and important service during the whole period of the war.

A few days after the massacre at Big Bottom, General Putnam wrote to General Washington, President of the United States, stating the danger to which the settlements north of the Ohio were exposed, and asking for the support of government troops. Knox, the Secretary of War, was also appealed to at the same time. The language used by General Putnam on this occasion, though perfectly respectful, was bold and earnest.

“I hope,” said he, “government will not be long in deciding what part to take, for if we are not protected the sooner we know it the better; better that we withdraw at once, than remain to be destroyed piecemeal by the savages; and better that government disband their troops now in



the country, and give it up altogether, than be wasting the public money in supporting a few troops totally inadequate to the purpose of giving peace to the territory."

The condition of the settlers, both north and south of the Ohio River, was indeed an alarming one. The little stockade at Waterford was hardly completed before it was invested by a large party of Indians. Fortunately the garrison, having timely warning of their approach, succeeded in finishing the outworks, and hanging the great gates, and by spies without, and sentinels within, kept up a vigilant watch. Two days having passed without the enemy making their appearance, it was thought probable that they had retired with their plunder, or, suddenly changing their arrangements, had precipitated themselves upon a station less defensible. These surmises were however erroneous; for, on the third morning, a young man, who had imprudently ventured beyond rifle shot from the fort, fell into an ambush, and was dangerously wounded. Though greatly disabled, he outran his pursuers, until within a few yards of the gates, when he sank exhausted behind the stump of a large tree. In this exposed situation any attempt to relieve the suffering fugitive was regarded by the more prudent part of the garrison as an act of unjustifiable rashness. His brothers, however, heroically resolved to make an effort in



his behalf, and by a sudden dash fortunately succeeded in bearing him through a shower of bullets in safety to the fort.

In the midst of the confusion occasioned by this incident, McCullough, one of the rangers, observed on the outskirts of the forest a number of men, habited in garments similar to those usually worn by the frontier settlers, and supposing them to be a party of whites in distress, hastened from the fort to their relief. It proved to be a stratagem of the Indians, who had dressed some of their number in the well-known caps and hunting shirts of their victims, hoping by this means to decoy the garrison from their defences. A quick-sighted watcher among the latter detecting the snare, warned McCullough of his peril in time to enable him to avoid the bullet of an Indian who was in the act of firing at him from behind a tree. Retreating hastily, by a series of diagonal movements he was enabled to elude the balls which whistled about him, and to gain the fort unharmed.

Foiled in their subsequent attempts to reduce the garrison, the mortified savages, after killing all the cattle in the woodland pastures, gathered in a body on the edge of the plain, and shouting loudly to attract the attention of the besieged, gesticulated their contempt and defiance. A shot from an old ducking piece in the hands of Judge Devoll, scattered the exasperated war-



riors, the whole of whom disappeared soon after. Dividing into small parties, they lurked for some time in the vicinity of the lower settlements, where, in two instances, they succeeded in cutting off a number of the inhabitants.

Other war parties were, at the same time, committing depredations on the southern bank of the river, but the people of Kentucky, already sufficiently numerous to justify their admission into the Union as a separate state government, disdaining the assistance of regular troops, simply asked permission of Congress to fight the Indians in their own way. To this, however, the government would not consent, but created, instead, a local Board of War, which was invested with power to enlist the militia of the state into the service of the United States, to co-operate with the regular troops whenever necessary. The occasion speedily arrived; and on the 9th of March, 1791, orders were given to Brigadier-General Charles Scott to muster a force of eight hundred mounted men, for an expedition against the Indian towns. This battalion was intended only as the forerunner of a powerful army, then organizing under General St. Clair.

Hoping still to avoid the necessity of war, Colonel Thomas Procter was despatched to the North-Western Indians with pacific proposals; but his mission not meeting with that success which had been anticipated, on the 23d of May,



Scott crossed the Ohio, and succeeded in effecting the destruction of the Indian settlements on the banks of the Wabash. His loss in killed and wounded was trifling.

A second detachment was now ordered against the Eel River Indians, under Colonel Wilkinson. The troops, after floundering up to their arm-pits in mud and water, among the marshes of the Wabash, failing to reach their destination, the expedition returned after a few desultory skirmishes with the Indians, and the destruction of their cornfields.

The object of the expedition of St. Clair was the erection of a strong cordon of military forts across the wilderness, commencing at the head of the waters of the Maumee and ending at Fort Washington on the Ohio, in order to awe the Indians, and protect the frontier settlements against their sanguinary forays. On the 17th of September the troops under General St. Clair, two thousand strong, exclusive of militia, took up their line of march from Ludlow's Station, six miles distant from Cincinnati, and moved forward about twenty miles to a point on the east bank of the Great Miami, where they built Fort Hamilton. After leaving a small garrison in the fort, St. Clair advanced forty-four miles farther; and having constructed Fort Jefferson, on the 24th of October, the army commenced its toilsome march across the wilder-



ness. Encumbered by wagons and artillery, its progress was painfully slow, and the difficulties of the route were enhanced by the insubordinate conduct of the militia. One thousand volunteers had been drafted from Kentucky, where St. Clair was extremely unpopular, and where, ever since the unfortunate defeat of General Braddock, a strong prejudice existed against the employment of regular troops in Indian warfare. Disliking their commander, regarding the regulars with contempt, and anticipating nothing but defeat and disgrace, the militia from Kentucky sought every opportunity of escape, and on the 1st of November three hundred of them deserted and returned to their homes. The supplies for the army being still in the rear, St. Clair, fearing that the convoys of provisions would be plundered by the deserters, detached the first regiment of regulars, under Major Hamtranck, to rearward, to protect them, while with the remainder of his force, now reduced to little more than one thousand effective men, he continued his march in the direction of the Indian towns.

Late in the evening of the 3d of November, after a fatiguing march, the army encamped on the banks of one of the branches of the Wabash. The enemy being reported in the neighbourhood in considerable force, St. Clair arranged with Major Ferguson, to commence next morning the



construction of some slight defences for the protection of the baggage, intending to await the return of the first regiment, and the arrival of the supplies before advancing to the attack. The enemy, however, anticipated his plans. Taking advantage of the weakness of his force, by reason of the desertion of the militia and the absence of Hamtranck's regiment, early on the morning of the 4th of November they attacked the outposts, and driving the militia, by which they were defended, across the river, pursued them closely into camp. The fugitives, encountering Major Butler's battalion, threw it into disorder also, and although the advance of the Indians was temporarily checked by a well directed fire from the front line, consisting of Butler's, Clarke's, and Patterson's regiments, they soon rallied, and spreading themselves in great force along the right and left wings, poured from their places of concealment a perfect storm of bullets on the bewildered troops, shooting down the artillerymen at their guns, and effectually preventing the pieces from being discharged. Finding his men falling on all sides, while no impression was made on the concealed foe, St. Clair ordered Lieutenant-Colonel Darke with a part of the second line to advance and turn the left flank of the enemy with the bayonet. By this movement a temporary relief was obtained; but owing to the want of riflemen to se-



sure possession of the ground from which the Indians were driven, the latter were enabled to rally and drive back the troops in their turn. Several desperate charges, similar in their character, were attempted, but they were attended with a like result, and in all of them the troops suffered severely. Major Butler fell, gallantly fighting at the head of the second regiment, every officer of which was killed but three, one of the latter being shot through the body. The artillery was either captured or rendered useless, while of the rank and file more than one-half had already fallen. Hemmed in on all sides, the weight of the Indian fire became gradually too oppressive to be borne, and the total destruction of the survivors seemed almost inevitable; the road, the only avenue of escape, being in possession of the enemy. In this emergency, St. Clair resolved on the desperate expedient of charging the right flank of the Indians, in order to draw them from the occupation of the road, and thereby open a way for the retreat of the troops. This manœuvre was successfully accomplished, and the road being clear, the few militia in the field were the first to rush along it, closely followed by the surviving regulars, who abandoning their artillery and disencumbering themselves of their arms and accoutrements, never paused in their headlong flight until they



reached Fort Jefferson, twenty-nine miles distant from the field of battle.

The defeat of General St. Clair subjected him to an infinite amount of popular odium and abuse. But there appears to have been no want of skill or courage on his part, either before or during the engagement. After a careful consideration of all the circumstances which led to this terrible defeat, a military tribunal pronounced him free from all blame. Washington, never once doubting the honour of St. Clair, remained his firm and steadfast friend. During the action, St. Clair was personally present in the thickest of the fight. Although so severely afflicted with the gout that he was unable to mount or dismount his horse without assistance, he and General Butler rode up and down the lines encouraging the men, and giving such orders as they adjudged to be necessary. While thus engaged St. Clair had four horses killed under him in succession, and his clothing was repeatedly perforated by the balls of the enemy. After his horses were killed, despite of his painful condition, he exerted himself on foot with a degree of alertness and energy surprising to all who witnessed it; and when a retreat became indispensable, he headed the column which broke the ranks of the enemy and opened a way for the flight of the army along the road. He was the last to leave the field of battle, and after remaining on foot



until nearly exhausted, he was mounted on a pack-horse which it was impossible to prick out of a walk. This prevented him from pressing forward and rallying the fugitives; and the panic was so great that he could not get his orders attended to by others.

Major Hamtranck's regiment, which had been detached to protect the advancing supplies, was met at Fort Jefferson by the fugitives. It was the opinion of St. Clair that had this increase of force been on the field of battle it would have been implicated in the defeat. On the whole, therefore, he regarded its absence as a fortunate occurrence, inasmuch as a small effective army was still left to protect the frontier.

There was no supply of provisions at Fort Jefferson, and the convoy had not made its appearance. General St. Clair, therefore, called a council of the surviving officers of the army to decide on the best course to be pursued. It was resolved to continue the retreat, and meet the convoy which was known to be on the road, as the destitute and half-famished condition of the troops rendered them liable to be attacked at any moment at a disadvantage. The resolution was carried into effect the same evening, and the march of the army continued through the night. On the following day a quantity of flour and a drove of cattle were intercepted, which having been disposed of as the necessities of the



troops required, the march was continued to Fort Washington.

Soon after the defeat of St. Clair, Wilkinson, who had succeeded him in the command of Fort Washington, organized an expedition to survey the battle field. The condition of the dead afforded a mournful spectacle of the cruelty and implacable feelings of the Indians. The bodies were much abused, and stripped of every valuable, while those who were so unfortunate as to have been taken alive, appeared to have been subjected to the greatest possible amount of torture, having their limbs torn off, and stakes as thick as a man's arm driven through their bodies. Pits were dug in different parts of the field, and all the slain that were exposed to view, or could be conveniently found, the snow being very deep at the time of search, were interred. In December, 1793, a detachment was sent forward by General Wayne, to build a fort on the site of St. Clair's defeat. It arrived there on Christmas day. The ground, now free from snow, was covered with remains of the dead. The next day pits were opened, and the bones were reverently buried. Six hundred skulls were found upon the field. After this melancholy duty had been performed, a fortification was built, which was called Fort Recovery.



## CHAPTER IX.

The United States attempt negotiations with the Indians—Putnam's mission—Public dinner given to chiefs—Preparations of the settlers for defence—Backwoodsmen and rangers—Adventure of Neil Washburn—Capture and escape of Moses Hewitt—Attack on Fort Jefferson—Captivity and escape of Davis—The blockhouse schools—Amusements of the settlers while confined within the blockhouses—Bird Lockhart.

AFTER the defeat of General St. Clair, the necessity of having an army of men well disciplined and trained for the peculiar warfare of an Indian campaign became painfully evident. But it was the wish of Washington that, before this army was organized, every effort should be made by peaceful negotiation with the Indians to bring the war to a friendly and honourable termination. No less than five independent embassies, offering peace, were sent to the hostile tribes. Knox, the Secretary of War, himself wrote to Brant, the great Mohawk chieftain, inviting him to a personal conference, and on the 20th of June the latter visited Philadelphia, where he was treated with marked respect. Great pains were taken to make him understand the posture of affairs and the wishes of the go-



vernment, in the hope that he would become a powerful auxiliary in behalf of peace. But the victories gained by the Indians had so elated them that they rejected all proposals for a pacific adjustment of difficulties. Freeman, who left Fort Washington, April 7th; Trueman, who left the same place on the 22d of May for the Maumee; and Colonel Hardin, who started on the same day for Sandusky, were all murdered by the Indians, and nothing remained but to settle the question by force of arms.

General Putnam, accompanied by Heckewelder, the Moravian Missionary, was the only commissioner appointed by the United States who succeeded in forming a treaty, and this too with only a portion of the Indian tribes. This treaty was never ratified by the Senate, and proved practically of little or no use. The Indians met the commissioners at Fort Vincennes, on the 27th of September, 1792. The following tribes sent chiefs and representatives, viz: The Eel River Indians, Pottawatomies, Kickapoos, Kaskaskias, Peorias, Musquitoes, Piankeshaws, and the Illinois. By the terms of the treaty these Indian tribes acknowledged themselves to be under the protection of, and agreed to maintain a perpetual peace with, the government of the United States. They agreed to surrender all prisoners. In return they were to possess their hunting grounds in peace, and no part was ever



to be taken from them without their consent, or full and adequate remuneration. This treaty received the signatures of thirty Indian deputies. At the same time they agreed to send a deputation to see their Great Father, the President of the United States, and fourteen chiefs reached Marietta on the 17th of November, on their journey to Washington.

On the 18th a public dinner was given to this deputation, at the Campus Martius, to which the citizens of Marietta and the officers of the garrison were invited. The boat which contained the chiefs was escorted with martial music to the north-east gate of the garrison, and its approach honoured by a salute of fourteen guns. The feast was held in the hall of the north-west blockhouse, in a room twenty-four feet by forty in size, the dinner having been provided by a committee of arrangement, aided by the ladies of the garrison. The entertainment was as novel as the scene was interesting. At the close of the entertainment, the chiefs were conducted to their boats and again proceeded on their journey.

While the army was organizing under General Wayne, and before hostilities were resumed, in the month of June, 1792, Colonel Sproat, commander of the garrison at Marietta, received two boxes, containing twenty-five stands each, of United States muskets with bayonets,



new from the factory. These were distributed among the inhabitants and soldiers on their giving a receipt to return them on demand. Abundance of ammunition was also prepared and stored in the blockhouse, ready for use in case of emergency. In this manner the people were all armed; and although many of the newly arrived settlers were utterly unacquainted with the use of the rifle, they soon became expert marksmen, well prepared for an encounter with the common enemy. The most skilful in the use of the rifle were enlisted into the United States service, to defend the settlements, under the title of rangers. These men were a hardy and courageous race, well acquainted with the habits of the Indian and his mode of warfare, and always proud of the privilege of imparting their knowledge to others; and to this plan of employing rangers may be attributed the general safety of the frontier, and the successful occupation of the country. These rangers being constantly engaged in hunting, or out with the spies in small parties, it was next to impossible for the most crafty Indian warrior to approach within five miles of a garrison without being detected. The Indians thus closely watched by men who were a match for them in their own mode of warfare, soon grew indifferent to enterprises in which they were more likely to lose than gain the advantage.



In the early difficulties with the Indians on the Ohio frontier, Neil Washburn was distinguished for his sagacity and courage. He exhibited from infancy a love for the woods, spending most of his time when a boy in snaring pheasants and wild animals. Having been presented with a rifle by his father, he very soon became expert in its use. In the summer of 1790, Neil and his father crossed the Ohio for the purpose of shooting deer, at a lick near the mouth of Eagle Creek. On entering the creek their attention was arrested by a singular hacking sound some distance up the bank. Neil landed, and with gun in hand, cautiously crawling up the banks of the creek, discovered an Indian in a hickory tree, about twenty feet from the ground, busily engaged in cutting round the bark to make a canoe, in which he probably anticipated the gratification of crossing the river and committing depredations on the property of the Kentuckians. His meditations and work were, however, soon brought to a close, for the intrepid boy no sooner saw the dusky form of the savage, than he brought his gun to a level with his eye and fired. The Indian fell dead to the earth with a heavy sound. Fearing that there might be other Indians about, he hastily returned to the canoe, and recrossed the river. Early the next morning Neil guided a party of men to the spot where the Indian had fallen, and having secured the



scalp, showed it much elated the same day to the inhabitants of the village where he resided, many of whom presented him with testimonials of their approbation. He afterward was employed as a spy, to watch for such parties of Indians as were in the habit of crossing the Ohio into Kentucky, to plunder and murder the settlers. He joined the army under General Wayne, and fought with his usual prowess.

After St. Clair's defeat, all the plantations on both banks of the Ohio were broken up, and the inhabitants retired to their garrisons for mutual defence. Among them was Moses Hewitt, a sturdy backwoodsman, who joined the company at Neil's station, on the same stream. In the month of May he arose early one morning, and went out about a mile from the garrison in search of a stray horse. While walking leisurely along an obscure cattle-path, he was suddenly made prisoner by three stout Indians, who sprang from behind two large trees on either side of the track. The Indians now moved with their prisoner in the direction of the Sandusky towns. On their journey they treated him with as little harshness as possible. He was always confined at night by fastening his wrists and ankles to saplings as he lay on his back between two Indians. By day his limbs were free, but one Indian guard walked before and two behind him. As they approached the prairies, the Indians



frequently halted to search for honey, the wild bee being found in every hollow tree, and often beneath decayed roots in the ground in astonishing numbers. This afforded them many luscious repasts, of which their prisoner was allowed to partake. While the Indians were occupied in these searches, Hewitt watched his opportunity for escape, but the savages were equally vigilant. As they receded, however, from the danger of pursuit, they became less hurried in their march, and often stopped to hunt and amuse themselves. The level prairie afforded fine ground for one of their favourite amusements, the foot-race, and Hewitt was invited to join them. He soon found that he could outrun two of them, and that the other Indian could outrun him, which discouraged him from an attempt to escape until a more favourable opportunity presented itself. The Indians treated him familiarly, and were much pleased with his lively and cheerful manners. They were now within one or two days' march of their village, when they made a halt for a hunt, and Hewitt complained of sickness. They therefore left their prisoner in the camp, although they had usually taken him with them; but to secure him, they confined his wrists with stout thongs of raw-hide to saplings, and fastened his legs, at a considerable elevation, to a small tree. As soon as the Indians had gone, Hewitt sought to liberate himself, and after long



and violent exertions succeeded in freeing his limbs from their fastenings, but not without severely lacerating the skin. Taking with him two small pieces of jerked venison, not more than sufficient for a single meal, with his body nearly naked, and not even a knife or a tomahawk to assist him in procuring food, he started, in the direction of a favourite Indian trail or war-path, for the settlements on the Muskingum.

Soon after his departure the Indians returned to the camp, and finding their captive gone, immediately commenced a pursuit. That night, as Hewitt was cautiously traversing the forest, he heard the crackling of a breaking twig behind him. Couching silently, he saw his three pursuers on one side of him at a distance of only a few yards, but they did not perceive him. As soon as they had disappeared he altered his course, and saw no more of them. After a toilsome march of nine days duration, in which he suffered every thing but death from the exhausting effects of hunger and fatigue, he arrived on the banks of the Big Muskingum, and approached the garrison at Wolf Creek Mills. With the exception of the two small pieces of venison, he had lived only on roots and the bark of the slippery elm, so that he was so weak as to be unable to halloo for assistance or even stand; and as he was almost entirely naked, and his body completely disfigured, torn and bloody with



the briars and bushes of the forest, he thought it imprudent to show himself, lest he should be shot by the sentries as an Indian. In this forlorn state he remained until the approach of evening, when he crawled silently to the gateway, which was open, and crept in before any one was aware of his presence. The light of the fire falling on his face he was instantly recognised by a young man, who exclaimed, "Here is Hewitt!" He was immediately supplied with food and clothing, and possessing a fine constitution, speedily regained his health.

In the summer of 1792, a large body of Indians surrounded Fort Jefferson, secreting themselves among the undergrowth of the vicinity. Knowing that Captain Shaylor, the commandant, was passionately fond of hunting, they imitated the notes of turkeys, in order to decoy him from the fort. Their stratagem was successful, for hearing the noise he hastened out with his son, fully expecting to return loaded with game. As he approached the cover, the Indians arose and fired, and his son, a promising lad, fell mortally wounded. The captain immediately turned and fled to the fort, followed by the Indians in close pursuit, who calculated either to make him prisoner, or to enter the fort with him when the gate was opened for his admission. In this they were disappointed, although close behind him; he entered, and the gate was immedi-



ately shut, effectually preventing their entrance. In his retreat he was severely wounded in the back by an arrow.

In the fall of 1792, when the spies and rangers were discharged, Mr. Samuel Davis, who had been employed by the governor of Kentucky in that capacity to watch the Ohio Indians, concluded to go on a winter's hunt up the Big Sandy River. Having prepared traps, ammunition, and a light canoe, he and Mr. William Campbell commenced their excursion. Beaver and other furs being abundant all along the banks of the stream, they hunted and trapped, with a success quite equal to their anticipations, until the commencement of wintry weather admonished them to return. They accordingly descended the river, and although no signs indicating the presence of Indians had been detected by them, they were circumspect in their movements, carefully concealing their canoe, when they had occasion to leave it, among the willows which grew along the margin of the stream, and sleeping out on the hills at night without a fire. After floating down the river for several days, they landed on a small island in the stream, where they discovered signs of beaver. They immediately set their traps, and having kindled a small fire, cooked their supper and lay down to sleep without putting out their fire, as they thought it impossible for the light from it to be seen through the thick willow



trees by which they were surrounded. They were, however, speedily undeceived, for a war party of Indians, returning up the stream from an unsuccessful attack on a blockhouse in the vicinity, catching a glimpse of the fire, landed, and approaching the spot, found Davis and Campbell fast asleep. The exclamation in broken English, "Come, come—get up, get up!" awakened the hunters, who were greatly surprised to find themselves surrounded, and several uplifted tomahawks threatening them with instant death. As it was useless to resist under such circumstances, they immediately submitted to their captors.

When the prisoners were securely fastened in their own canoe, the Indians, who had already plundered them of their rifles, traps, and the proceeds of their successful hunt, continued their retreat up the stream, the main body of warriors travelling along its margin. Early the next day they entered the Ohio. Their wounded and prisoners were first taken across the stream, and left on the shore with a guard, they then returned for their horses, which they had great difficulty in getting across. The guard left the prisoners for a moment, to have a better view of the difficulty with the horses; and Davis, who possessed in an eminent degree both courage and presence of mind, proposed to seize the arms which the Indians had stacked against a tree, kill them,



and make their escape. His companion, however, faltered, and in the midst of this hesitation, to the chagrin of Davis, the guard resumed their position and their weapons.

The opportunity of escape being thus lost, Davis brooded over his captivity in sullen silence. He knew that the Indians not unfrequently roasted their captives alive over slow fires, or tortured them to death in a variety of ways, and sleeping or awake the terrible image of such a scene was continually floating before his eyes. He therefore resolved to effect his escape at all hazards, and without consulting his companion any more as to the chances of failure or success.

The Indians now left the Ohio and pushed across the country in the direction of Sandusky. As they were much encumbered with their wounded and baggage, there being no road or path, they travelled necessarily very slowly, not more than ten or twelve miles each day. At night the prisoners were secured in the following manner. A thong, made of the raw hide of the buffalo or the elk, was attached to the waist of each, and each end of the thong was fastened to the waist of an Indian, so that neither of them could stir without his guards being apprized of the movement. In this uncomfortable position the prisoners lay until the Indians thought proper to rise, when they were untied and menaced



with instant death if they attempted to break the line of march.

One morning just before daybreak, Davis roused one of the Indians to whom he was fastened, and requested to be untied. The Indian raised his head and finding it still dark, and none of the Indians about their fires, gave Davis a severe blow with his fist, and told him to lie still. The condition of the unfortunate captive was now desperate; and as the day began to dawn he awoke his other Indian guard, to whom he complained that the thong hurt him. The Indian perceiving it to be getting light, and that some of the warriors were already making their fires, got up and loosed the bonds of his prisoner. Davis rose to his feet, determined to escape. Standing for a moment between his former guards, he saw at a glance the position of those surrounding him. The Indians had cut two forks, which were stuck into the ground; a pole was laid across these forks, and all their rifles were leaning against this pole. These rifles were in a position intended to be between him and the Indians. He saw at a glance that if he started with his back to the Indians, their rifles would be before them, and they would have nothing to do but to catch them up and fire as they ran; if, on the contrary, he boldly faced them, and made a dash through the encampment, they would have to turn back for their rifles, and



as it was only twilight, he might possibly get so far in advance of them as to render their fire uncertain. He knew that if he failed, a certain and cruel death would be promptly awarded him. For an instant his heart fluttered and his sight grew dim; the next moment he had hurled a powerful Indian into the fire he had just kindled, and was speeding with the velocity of the wind through the encampment. In an instant the Indians were yelling after him in pursuit. As he had anticipated, not a rifle was discharged. For some time it was a doubtful race, the foremost Indian being so near that Davis sometimes fancied that he felt his grasp. Soon he gained ground—the breaking and rustling of the under-growth behind him became fainter, and at last these sounds of immediate and dangerous proximity ceased altogether. Davis slackened his pace, and looking back, saw with infinite pleasure, from an elevated piece of ground, there was no one in pursuit. He now discovered, for the first time, that his feet had been dreadfully gashed and bruised by the sharp stones over which he had passed in his headlong and indiscriminate flight. He therefore stripped himself of his waistcoat, and tearing it in two pieces, made mocassins for his feet. He then made for the river Ohio, and succeeded in reaching its banks, after travelling three days and two nights



without food, fire, or shelter from the storms of winter.

It was about the first of January when he gained the Ohio; and while looking around for some dry logs with which to construct a raft, he beheld a Kentucky boat slowly gliding with the current. The boatmen at first refused to take him on board, fearing it to be a stratagem of the Indians to decoy them on shore; but when Davis plunged into the freezing water and swam toward them, their suspicions gave way, and they instantly exerted themselves to save him. Touched with pity for his complete exhaustion, the boatmen did every thing in their power to revive and relieve him, and finally landed him in the midst of his former friends and associates at Massie Station, where he was speedily restored to his wonted vigour.

Notwithstanding the poverty and privations of the people, education was not neglected during the Indian War, but schools were taught in the blockhouses, and the children of the settlers instructed in reading, writing, and arithmetic. During the long and tedious confinement of the inhabitants within the blockhouses, various amusements were devised to make the time pass as happily as possible. The sports of the young men and boys consisted of games at ball, foot-races, leaping, and wrestling. Foot-races were especially encouraged, as tending to give them



an advantage in their contests with the Indians. Dancing, accompanied with music, was a recreation frequently indulged in. Parties of young people from Campus Martius and Fort Harmer came down by water to Farmer's Castle, at Belpré, attended by a guard of soldiers, and accompanied by musicians attached to the different military stations as often as four or five times in the year, where they would spend the time in rifle shooting, athletic sports, and dancing. Sometimes the young girls would steal out of the castle on a pleasant moonlight summer evening, and taking a canoe, would sail on the calm clear surface of the Ohio, delighting with song and laughter the listeners on shore. At such times, too, the graver settlers would be gathered in cheerful groups at each other's dwellings, chatting on their own affairs, or listening to the news of the day, brought by passing boats, or by the rangers in their visits to other garrisons. The Fourth of July was regularly celebrated. There were usually present, on this occasion, some of the old soldiers of the Revolution, who would recount their hardships and adventures over a bowl of whiskey punch, while each patriotic toast was accompanied by a discharge from the guns of the fort.

In the year 1793 General Wayne was busily engaged in collecting troops, provisions, and erecting forts, prior to invading the Indian terri-



tory. These movements occupied the attention of the savages, and prevented them from making many hostile attacks on the settlements. In the autumn of this year Bird Lockhart, a celebrated ranger and hunter encountered two Indian warriors, in the neighbourhood of Farmer's Castle, under the following circumstances. Isaac Williams, one of the settlers, had been sick and was slowly recovering. Feeling his appetite returning, he thought he should gain strength more speedily if he could obtain some venison, and applied to Lockhart to go into the woods and kill a deer. Lockhart readily consented, although it was in the midst of the Indian War, and a very hazardous venture. He soon killed two fine deer, and having dressed the venison, placed it on the back of his horse, and started for the garrison. As he was riding leisurely along, late in the afternoon, he suddenly, and quite unexpectedly, met two Indian warriors in the path, only a few rods before him. The Indians were as much surprised as himself, and both parties immediately sprang behind trees. One of the Indians took to a tree too small to cover him, and as the side hip presented a fair mark, Lockhart instantly fired, and completely disabled him. The other Indian, who was behind a larger tree, and at a considerable distance, seeing that Lockhart's rifle was now empty, rushed up to shoot him. As he approached, Lockhart had just re-loaded



and was in the act of drawing forth his ramrod. The Indian finding him ready, ran back to the tree he had left. There they remained watching each other until night approached, both being too cautious to uncover any part of the body, so as to give the other a chance of an effective shot. Lockhart, as it grew darker, became afraid that the Indian would steal off unobserved, and determined if possible to draw him by a stratagem from his cover. He therefore took his low-crowned beaver hat, and mounting it on his ramrod, slowly pushed it round the tree, imitating as much as possible the motions of a human head. The Indian instantly caught a glimpse of the hat and fired, and Lockhart letting the hat fall to the ground completed the delusion. The Indian, uttering a cry of triumph, rushed forward to secure the scalp of his enemy. Lockhart waited until he was within a few yards, and then stepping from behind the tree, deliberately shot him. The undaunted ranger now went in search of his horse, but failing to find him, returned alone to the garrison.

The next morning a party of the garrison found the Indian dead whom Lockhart had last shot, but the wounded one was missing. After a further search, the old horse was found on Carpenter's Run, about six miles above Marietta. It was supposed that the wounded Indian had contrived to catch the horse, which was very



gentle, and had ridden him to the vicinity of the Ohio, where he either crossed the river, aided by some other Indians who belonged to the war party, or had hidden himself among the rocks. No trace of him could be found.

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## CHAPTER X.

Wayne's preparations for the Indian campaign—Wayne commences operations—Death of Lieutenant Lowry—Kentucky volunteers—Exploits of Josiah Hunt—General Wayne's spies—A remarkable escape—Captain Wells preserves the lives of an Indian family—Attack on Fort Recovery—Fort Defiance erected—Wayne's last offer of peace to the Indians—Little Turtle opposed by Blue Jacket at the Indian council—The Battle of the Fallen Timbers—Major Campbell and General Wayne.

WHILE negotiations with the Indians were earnestly prosecuted by the United States, every effort was made by General Wayne to prepare his soldiers for the field, in accordance with the instructions of the commander-in-chief. "Train and discipline them for the service they are meant for," said Washington, "and do not spare powder and lead, so the men be made marks-men."

All hostile movements north of the Ohio having been forbidden by Washington until the northern commissioners were heard from, it was not until



the 10th of August, 1793, that matters were brought to a crisis. On that day the chiefs assembled in grand council demanded that the Ohio River should henceforth remain forever the boundary between their hunting grounds and the American settlements. The commissioners failing to impress them with the utter impossibility of complying with any such restrictive stipulation, the conference was abruptly terminated, and both parties prepared to renew the war.

At this period Wayne was encamped at Cincinnati, where he was contending with the prejudices of the Kentucky militia, with fever, influenza, and desertion. On receiving intelligence of the failure of Indian negotiations, he broke up his camp at Cincinnati, and marching to Greenville, proceeded to fortify his position for the winter.

On the morning of the 17th of October, 1793, Lieutenant Lowry, of the second sub-legion, and Ensign Boyd, of the 1st, with a command consisting of ninety non-commissioned officers and privates, while escorting to the camp at Greenville twenty wagons loaded with grain and stores, were attacked by Little Turtle, at the head of a party of Indians. After an obstinate resistance against superior numbers, the Americans were totally routed with the loss of fifteen men including both the officers in command, the greater part of the escort having fled at the very first



discharge. The savages killed or carried off about seventy horses, leaving the wagons with their contents standing in the middle of the road. The last words of the gallant Lowry were, "My brave boys, all you that can fight now display your activity and let your balls fly."

On the 24th of October, General Wayne was reinforced by a company of volunteers from Kentucky, under General Scott. The Kentucky troops, however, were soon after dismissed until spring, but they had seen sufficient in General Wayne's army to convince them of the admirable discipline of the regulars; and on their return to their native state so earnestly communicated their own confidence to others, that the requisite number of volunteers was easily procured in the spring.

Having strengthened his position by the erection of Fort Greenville, General Wayne, in December, 1793, ordered a detachment to take possession of the field of St. Clair's defeat. Here, when the remains of St. Clair's brave but unfortunate men had been gathered together and interred, Fort Recovery was built and garrisoned; and when this was accomplished, the remainder of the detachment returned to the camp at Greenville.

During the winter, while General Wayne's army lay at Greenville, Josiah Hunt, who was an



excellent woodsman, was employed by the officers of the garrison to supply them with venison, and was in consequence exempted from all other duties. It was the practice of the Indians to climb the trees in the neighbourhood of the fort, so as to see when any person left it. The direction of the victim was then noted, his path ambushed, and his scalp secured. To avoid this danger Hunt always left the fort at night. He used to say, "When once I get into the woods without their knowledge I have as good a chance as they." He would, therefore, go out after dark, and make for that part of the forest in which he intended to hunt the next day. To keep from freezing to death it was necessary to have a fire during the night, and this too without flame, which if seen by the Indians would ensure his certain destruction. He contrived a camp fire in the following manner. He dug a hole in the ground with his tomahawk, about the size and depth of his hat crown. He then procured from a dead tree, the bark of the white oak, which he severed into strips, and placed in the bottom of the hole crosswise, until the pit was full. This bark will retain a strong degree of heat when covered with its ashes. After his fire was kindled, and his "coal-pit," as he termed it, sufficiently ignited, he would cover it with dirt, leaving two openings at its margin for the admission of air. To ward off all injury from the



dampness of the ground, he seated himself upon strips of bark covered with his blanket, his hand resting on his trusty rifle, and the fire between his legs. If his fire became too much smothered, he would freshen it by blowing into one of the air holes. At daybreak he commenced hunting, proceeding very slowly and with extreme caution, looking for his game and the Indian enemy at the same time. Previous to shooting a deer, he always put another bullet in his mouth, so as to be able to re-load with all possible despatch, which he did before leaving the spot, or going in search of the deer after his rifle was discharged. The process of skinning was conducted with his back toward a tree, and his rifle leaning against it within reach of his hand. In this cautious manner he would skin for a short time, and then get up and narrowly survey the surrounding forest, to see if the report of his rifle had brought the Indians to his vicinity. When he had stripped and divided the animal, the four quarters were packed in the hide, which was so arranged as to be slung to his back like a knapsack, and in this manner he was accustomed to return to the garrison. Amid all the dangers to which he was exposed, his constant vigilance insured his safety.

At the treaty of Greenville, in 1795, the Indians eagerly inquired for Hunt, whom they seemed to consider not inferior to Wayne himself.



as a warrior. When he was pointed out to them he was immediately surrounded, and a profusion of compliments showered upon him: "Great man, Captain Hunt; great warrior, good hunting man; Indian no can kill!" They informed him that some of their bravest and most cunning warriors had frequently gone out for the express purpose of killing him. They knew how he constructed his secret camp fires, the ingenuity of which excited their admiration. The warriors in quest of him had often seen him, and could describe every article of his clothing—his cap, which was made of a raccoon's skin with the tail hanging down behind, the front turned up and ornamented with three brass rings. The scalp of such a great hunter and warrior was considered an invaluable trophy. Yet they could never catch him off his guard—never approach him within shooting distance without being instantly perceived, and exposed to the fire of his death-dealing rifle.

Knowing the Indians to be bold, dexterous, and vigilant, Wayne judiciously guarded his camp from surprise, by employing several scouts under the command of Captain Wells, to range the forest in various directions, and keep up a keen scrutiny upon the movements of the enemy.

Captain Wells, when a child, was made prisoner by the Indians, and adopted into the family of



Little Turtle. He was present at the defeat of St. Clair, and commanded three hundred Indian warriors, who being ambuscaded in front of the artillery, caused so dreadful a carnage among the artillerists that the bodies of the slain were heaped up almost to the height of their guns. Wells, perceiving that the whites would finally gain the ascendency, joined General Wayne's army, and was employed by him as a spy on the movements of the Indians. Attached to his command were the following men:—Robert McClellan, one of the most active men on foot that ever lived, and Henry Miller, who with a younger brother named Christopher, had been made captives, and adopted into Indian families when young. Henry Miller lived with the Indians twenty-four years, and finally left them and joined the whites, after having in vain attempted to induce his brother to accompany him.

Being desirous of ascertaining the plans of the Indians, Wayne, in June, 1794, despatched Captain Wells, at the head of his scouts, to bring a prisoner into camp. In obedience to this order Wells crossed the St. Mary's, and entering the Indian country, penetrated into the depths of the wilderness. Perceiving a smoke rising above the forest, he dismounted his men, who after fastening their horses, proceeded cautiously on foot until they came within sight of a fire



which had been kindled by three Indians, encamped on a piece of ground so free from trees and undergrowth, that it was almost impossible to approach within shooting distance without being discovered by them. While carefully reconnoitering this position, the scouts, observed a fallen tree within rifle shot of the encampment, and creeping forward cautiously, gained a position behind it, without attracting observation. It was decided that Wells and Miller were each to shoot one of the Indians, and M'Clellan was to pursue the other and take him prisoner. Captain Wells and Miller accordingly selected their men, fired, and the Indians fell, while M'Clellan, with tomahawk in hand made a dash at the fugitive, who rushed toward the river. On reaching the stream the Indian sprang into it, and immediately sank to his middle in the soft mud at its bottom. M'Clellan approached him with uplifted tomahawk and the Indian drew his knife; but on being threatened with instant death if he offered any resistance, he surrendered himself a prisoner without further opposition. The captive thus secured was at first morose and taciturn, and refused to speak one word either in Indian or English. While washing the mud from his person the paint also came off, and he proved to be a white man. Henry Miller suspecting that the prisoner might be his brother Christopher, called him by his Indian name.



The captive started and eagerly inquired how Henry knew him. The mystery was soon explained. It was indeed his brother Christopher whose life had been thus providentially spared. He stood an even chance of death with the two Indians, and might have been killed by his own brother. But that Providence which appears to have doomed the Indian race to extinction, permitted the white man to live.

In one of these excursions, Captain Wells, on approaching the banks of the St. Mary's, discovered a family of Indians coming up the river in a canoe. As he was dressed in Indian costume and spoke their language, the Indians turned their canoe toward him, unsuspecting of danger. The moment they approached the shore Captain Wells recognised, among others, his Indian father and mother, and at the same moment heard his companions, from their concealment behind the bushes on the bank, preparing to pour a destructive fire into the canoe. Alarmed at the danger to which his foster parents were exposed, Wells suddenly ordered his men to desist, and turning his own rifle upon them, declared he would shoot the first man that disobeyed. "That family," said he, "has fed me when hungry, clothed me when naked, and nursed me when sick, and has treated me with as much affection as one of their own children." This short speech was quite sufficient. The hearts of his comrades were



moved, and approving the lenity of their commander under such circumstances, they dropped their rifles and tomahawks, and hastening to the canoe, shook hands with the trembling Indians in the most friendly manner. Captain Wells assured the family they had nothing to fear. He told them that General Wayne was approaching with an overwhelming force, and that the best thing the Indians could do was to make their peace with the whites as soon as possible. He urged his Indian father to keep for the future out of danger, and then affectionately bade them all farewell. They appeared grateful for this manifestation of clemency, and pushing off their canoe from the shore, paddled away as rapidly as possible.

On the 30th of June, the Indians attempted to regain the ground of St. Clair's defeat; and on the same day, Fort Recovery was attacked by Little Turtle, at the head of an army of from one thousand to fifteen hundred warriors. The Indians made the attack with the determination to carry the fort, or perish in the attempt. They were repulsed, but they renewed the combat the next day; and it was not until a great number of their bravest chiefs and warriors were killed, that they reluctantly abandoned the enterprise.

On the 28th of July, Wayne having been joined by General Scott, with sixteen hundred



Kentuckians, moved to the confluence of the Au Glaize and the Maumee. The fertile lands lying along the shores of these beautiful rivers, for several miles above and below their junction, were covered with corn planted by the Indians, and appeared one continuation of an extensive Indian village. For the permanent occupation of this important district, Fort Defiance was erected. A deserter having informed the Indians of the approach of Wayne's army, he was prevented from taking them by surprise, as he had anticipated. He therefore found on his arrival that the main body of the Indians had retired down the Maumee about thirty miles, to the foot of the rapids, where the British had recently erected a fortification.

On the 13th of August, true to the spirit of peace advised by Washington, General Wayne released Christopher Miller, and sent him to the Indians with the following letter:—

“To the Delawares, Shawanese, Miamies, and Wyandots, and to each and every of them, and to all other nations of Indians northwest of the Ohio, whom it may concern:

“I, Anthony Wayne, Major-General and Commander-in-chief of the Federal army now at Grand Glaize, and commissioner-plenipotentiary of the United States of America for settling the terms on which a permanent and lasting peace



shall be made with each and every of the hostile tribes or nations of Indians north-west of the Ohio, and of the said United States, actuated by the purest principles of humanity, and urged by pity for the errors into which bad and designing men have led you, from the head of my army now in possession of your abandoned villages and settlements, do hereby once more extend the friendly hand of peace toward you, and invite each and every of the hostile tribes of Indians to appoint deputies to meet me and my army, without delay, between this place and Roche de Bout, in order to settle the preliminaries of a lasting peace, which may eventually and soon restore to you, the Delawares, Miamies, Shawanees, and all other tribes and nations lately settled at this place, and on the margins of the Miami and the Au Glaize Rivers, your late grounds and possessions, and to preserve you and your distressed and hapless women and children from danger and famine, during the present fall and ensuing winter. The arm of the United States is strong, but they love mercy and kindness more than war and desolation. And to remove any doubts of danger to the deputies whom you may appoint, I hereby pledge my sacred honour for their safety and return, and send Christopher Miller, an adopted Shawnee, and a Shawnee warrior whom I took prisoner two days ago, as a flag, who will advance



in their front to meet me. Mr. Miller was taken prisoner by my warriors, six months since, and can testify to you the kindness which I have shown to your people, my prisoners, that is, five warriors and two women, who are now all safe and well at Greenville.

“But should this invitation be disregarded, and my flag, Mr. Miller, be detained or injured, I will immediately order all those prisoners to be put to death without distinction, and some of them are known to belong to the first families of your nations. Brothers, be no longer deceived or led astray by the false promises and language of the bad white men at the foot of the rapids; they have neither the power nor the inclination to protect you. No longer shut your eyes to your true interest and happiness, nor your ears to this peaceful overture; but, in pity to your innocent women and children, come and prevent the further effusion of your blood; let them experience the kindness and friendship of the United States, and the blessings of peace.

ANTHONY WAYNE.

“GRAND GLAIZE, AUG. 13, 1794.”

Unwilling to lose time, General Wayne ordered his troops to continue their march, and on the 16th met Miller returning with the message, that if General Wayne would wait at Grand Glaize ten days, the Indians would decide for peace or



war. On receiving this reply the march of the army was resumeed, and on the 18th the troops had advanced forty-one miles from Grand Glaize. Being at length in the immediate neighbourhood of the enemy, a picketed work, named Fort Deposit, was hastily constructed for the reception of the heavy baggage, and while the troops were thus engaged, Captain Wells, who had been ordered with his party to attempt the capture of another prisoner, boldly rode into the very midst of the Indian camp. They were discovered; and in attempting to retreat, one of the men, named May, had his horse shot under him, and was taken prisoner. The Indians said to him, "We know you—you speak Indian language—you not content to live with us; to-morrow we take you to that tree"—pointing to a very large burr oak on the edge of a clearing near the British fort—"we will tie you up and make a mark on your breast, and we will try what Indian can shoot nearest it." Accordingly, the next day he was tied to the tree, a mark made on his breast, and his body riddled with at least fifty bullets.

During the 19th the troops still laboured at their works. The confederated warriors were known to be encamped in a dense forest, about four miles lower down the Maumee; the ground in front and to their right being covered by fallen trees, which some powerful tornado had pros-



trated, while their left was protected by the rocky margin of the river.

On the evening before the battle, an Indian council was held, composed of chiefs from the Miamies, Shawanees, Pottawatomies, Delawares, Ottawas, Chippewas, and Senecas, the seven Indian nations engaged in the action. Little Turtle, the most celebrated forest warrior and statesman of his time, was present, and addressed the council, strongly urging the propriety of accepting the proposals of General Wayne. "We have beaten the enemy," said he, "twice under separate commanders. We cannot expect the same good fortune always to attend us. The Americans are now led by a chief who never sleeps. The night and the day are alike to him; and during all the time that he has been marching upon our villages, notwithstanding the watchfulness of our young men, we have never been able to surprise him. Think well of it. There is something whispers me it would be prudent to listen to his offers of peace." Blue Jacket was, however, at that time commander-in-chief. He opposed Little Turtle, the better judgment of that intelligent warrior was rejected, and war resolved on.

About eight o'clock on the morning of the 20th of August, the army advanced to the attack. As soon as the Indian fire was heard, General Wayne ordered the mounted volunteers



to gain the enemy's rear by a circuitous route, and the second line of the legion into position on the left of the first, as from the weight of the fire it was evident that the Indians were endeavouring to turn the left flank of the legion. He also ordered the cavalry to push in between the Indians and the river, the ground there being more open, while the first line of the legion advanced and started the enemy from their covert at the point of the bayonet. These orders were executed by the troops with courage and promptitude; but such was the impetuosity of the infantry, that before the other troops could assume the positions assigned them, the Indians were completely routed in all parts of the field, and in the course of one hour were driven two miles through the thick woods by less than one-half their number. The fugitives were hotly pursued even to the walls of the British garrison, which was presently surrounded by their blazing cornfields and cabins. The near approach of the troops to the British works drew forth a letter of remonstrance from Major Campbell, its commandant. A sharp correspondence ensued, in which General Wayne denied the right of the British to build a fort there, and requested the major to retire within the limits prescribed to the British by their treaty with the United States. This Campbell refused to do until commanded to retire by his superior officer, at the



same time he warned Wayne not to approach within the reach of his cannon.

The erection of this fortress within the acknowledged territories of the United States had received the attention of the government, and General Wayne had private orders to drive out the intruders, if, in his opinion, such a step was necessary to the success of his operations against the Indians. On the morning before the army retired he carefully inspected the defences of the fort, and soon saw that his artillery was not sufficiently heavy to make any impression on its massive walls, while the deep fosse by which it was surrounded rendered an escalade impossible, but at an expense of valuable lives which the occasion would not justify. He therefore abandoned all thoughts of effecting its reduction; and having driven the Indians from their principal settlements, destroyed their winter's provisions, and erected forts in the country to prevent their return, he fell back on Fort Defiance, the defences of which he completed, and finally re-tired with his army into winter quarters at Greenville.



## CHAPTER XI.

Jonas Davis killed by the Indians—John James pursues and encounters the murderers—Death of Sherman Waterford—Wayne's treaty of peace—Settlers leave their garrisons—Increase of population—North-Western forts surrendered—Salt springs—Sufferings of two of the first salt makers—Chillicothe founded—Death of General Wayne.

THE defeat of the Indians by General Wayne having greatly humbled them, their depredations became less frequent; but as peace was not yet concluded, no dependence could be placed on their forbearance, and the settlers still remained in the block-houses.

In the latter part of the month of February, 1795, Jonas Davis, an inmate of Stone's garrison, at the upper settlement, while returning from Marietta, discovered the wreck of a boat at the mouth of Crooked Creek. Being in want of nails, which were scarce at that time in the garrison, he concluded to go the next morning and extract a number from the wreck. Accordingly, the following day he revisited the boat, and while employed in pulling it to pieces, was overheard by a party of Indians, who happened at that time to be prowling about the neighbourhood. The war-party, consisting of two Indians



and a negro, crept cautiously up the bank without Davis being aware of their approach, shot and scalped him, and after securing his clothing and tools, left his dead body by the side of the boat. As he did not return that night, fears were expressed for his safety, and early next morning a party of armed men, under the guidance of the rangers, went as far as Crooked Creek, where they found his remains, which were brought to the garrison and buried. His death was especially distressing, as he was on the eve of marriage, and his wedding suit had already been prepared. Had he conformed to the rules of the garrison, which strictly forbade any one going out alone beyond gunshot of the station, he would have escaped his untimely fate.

The next day John James, a daring and spirited ranger, at the head of a party of four young men, proceeded down the Ohio in a canoe, in search of the murderers of Davis. The members of a neighbouring garrison refused to join the war party on account of the armistice made with the Indians after their defeat by General Wayne; but on their arrival at Gallipolis they were joined by four of the inhabitants. One of this party soon fell sick and returned. Another being sent back with him, only six were left to continue the pursuit. On approaching a large pond about a mile in length, and a quarter of a mile in breadth, famous as a place



for trapping beaver, they discovered signs of Indians, and the cap of one of them placed near his beaver trap, which James immediately took into his possession. It was near sunset, and the whole party, while waiting the approach of night concealed behind a fallen tree, deliberated on the plan of attack. They had not been in ambush long before an Indian who had been out hunting made his appearance, and commenced a close and careful examination of their trail, knowing it to be that of strangers. As soon as he had approached within forty or fifty yards, one of the party, Joseph Miller, fired and the Indian fell. As James ran forward with his tomahawk, the fallen savage raised the war whoop, and was instantly answered by his comrades in the Indian camp, who came rushing to the spot, about forty in number, and James and his party were obliged to retreat. The Indians now set their dogs on the trail, but as the darkness increased they lost sight of it, and were only guided by the yelping and barking of the dogs, who followed close at the heels of the fugitives, like hounds in the pursuit of a fox. The first creek that they reached they found impossible to ford, the waters being swollen by the rains of the previous days, and a hastily constructed raft got entangled in the bushes so that they had to abandon it. The barking of the dogs had for some time ceased, and a little



before morning they halted and rested themselves until daylight, when they continued their retreat along the banks of the creek, and soon after found a fordable place, where they crossed over. Here they halted again for an hour or two, waiting the approach of their pursuers, and intending to fire upon them when in the water, but the Indians did not come. The whole party safely reached Gallipolis that same evening, much wearied with their toilsome and exciting journey.

Colonel Robert Safford, of Gallipolis, then acting as a ranger, went out the next morning, and found that the Indians had kept up the pursuit to within a short distance of the town. The pond where the Americans had been surprised being upward of one hundred miles from the garrison, the pursuit and retreat must have been alike daring and hazardous.

In the spring of the year 1795, a party of young men who had drawn donation lots on the south branch of Wolf Creek, about three miles from the Waterford garrison, agreed to clear their lands in company. After building a small blockhouse, they commenced cutting down the timber that covered the creek bottom, and for greater security worked together alternately on each other's lots.

On the 15th of June, the day being wet, they did not go out to chop wood, but remained within a little inclosure near the house, which was



occupied as a garden. But Sherman Waterford wanted some fresh bark to put into the bottom of his sleeping berth, and despite of the rain went down to the creek to procure it. In a few minutes the report of a rifle was heard, and each man seized his gun and stepped to a port-hole to watch for the coming of the enemy. Presently they saw poor Sherman running toward the blockhouse, wounded and bleeding, followed by Indians in pursuit. He dropped completely exhausted within a few yards of the blockhouse, earnestly imploring the assistance of his comrades within. William Hart and another of the young men immediately rushed out and brought him in amid a shower of rifle balls, which happily did them no harm. The nearer approach of the Indians was checked by the guns of the little garrison, the discharge of which soon compelled them to retreat without doing any further mischief.

William Hart now volunteered to carry the news of the disaster to the Waterford garrison, and a party of men soon arrived from that station and carried Sherman down to Tyler's blockhouse in a bark canoe, where he died the same night. On a careful examination of the neighbourhood, the spot was discovered where the Indians had concealed themselves on the night previous to the attack, and not far from it a blanket and some silver brooches were found



placed near the end of a log which the young men were in the habit of crossing daily as they went to their work. These things had evidently been placed there as a decoy. But the rain of that morning most providentially defeated the murderous designs of the enemy; and as none but Sherman Waterford left the blockhouse, he alone came within reach of the rifles of the concealed foe.

It was the destruction of the winter's provisions of the Indians, and the distress resulting from that destruction, more than their defeat on the banks of the Maumee, which induced their submission, and made them anxious for peace. On the 3d of August, 1795, this troublesome and expensive war was at length brought to a close by a treaty of peace, signed by the representatives of the hostile nations at Greenville. Upward of eleven hundred warriors were present. Under this treaty a large tract of land was ceded to the United States, in return for which the Indians received goods to the value of twenty thousand dollars, and an annual allowance of such articles as they should desire, equivalent in value to nine thousand five hundred dollars, was to be distributed among the various contracting tribes.

After the final ratification of the treaty, little danger being apprehended from the Indians, the inhabitants all along the frontier settlements of



the Ohio issued forth from their blockhouses, to take possession of their clearings, and each man commenced constructing his log cabin and cultivating his farm. Mills were erected, roads opened, and bridges built, as rapidly as the scanty population of the country would allow.

The population of the north-western territory now began to increase. From Marietta settlers spread into the adjoining country. The Virginia military reservation drew a considerable number of revolutionary veterans and others from that state. The region between the Miamies, from the Ohio far up toward the sources of Mad River, became checkered with farms, and abounded with indications of an active and prosperous population. The neighbourhood of Detroit became populous; and Connecticut, by grants of land from the tract reserved in her deed of cession, induced many of her hardy citizens to seek a home on the borders of Lake Erie.

The principal event of the year 1796 was the final transfer of the northern posts from Great Britain to the United States, under Jay's treaty. The evacuation of the forts was to take place on or before the 1st of June, but owing to a delay on the part of the House of Representatives in passing the necessary appropriations, it was July before the British authorities in Canada were addressed by the American government in regard



to Detroit and the other frontier forts. When at last called upon to give them up, the British at once did so, and Wayne transferred his headquarters to the lakes, where the county named after him was established, which included the north-western part of Ohio, a large tract in the north-eastern part of Indiana, and the whole of the territory of Michigan.

Many of the privations and difficulties of the early settlers ceased with the termination of the Indian War in 1795, but others continued in full force. Among the latter was the enormous cost of culinary salt, which was so scarce as to be sold for eight dollars a bushel. In the first settlement of the country a rumour prevailed that salt springs existed on a stream since called Salt Creek. White men had seen the Indians make salt at these springs, and had noted their locality, so that a skilful woodsman could find them. An exploring party of the best hunters being sent out to search for them, the explortion was successful. After their return in the summer of 1796, a company was formed of fifty shareholders, at one dollar and fifty cents each, making a capital of seventy-five dollars, with which to purchase castings and erect a furnace for the manufacture of salt. Works were constructed, but the salt was of a dark colour and inferior quality, much impregnated with muriate of lime; and when the value of the labour and the cost of the outlay



was estimated, the actual price of the salt was at least four dollars a bushel. The greatest advantage derived by the company was that the salt was procured by their own labour, and not by their money, which was very scarce. This was the first salt made in the valley of the Muskingum.

Two of the men engaged in salt making were Juda Ford and Captain William Davis. In the latter part of the month of November these men went up to the works. The weather setting in very cold, and the party whose duty it was to relieve them failing to do so, their little stock of food was exhausted, and it was absolutely necessary that they should either procure provisions or abandon the works. They therefore started for home, their outfit for the journey consisting of one small blanket, a single charge of gunpowder, a flint, an old jack-knife, with a piece of tow string cut from a bag of tinder, and about two pounds of venison.

As this was the first season of salt making, and intercourse with the garrison had thus far been kept up by water, they were not familiar with the woods through which they had to travel. A guide was procured to pilot them to the head of Meigs Creek. It was about the 22d of December. They had not gone far before it began to snow, and their guide left them on a ridge which he said would take them to the creek.



It continued to snow nearly the whole of the day, and fell about four inches deep. By the middle of the afternoon they came to the end of the ridge, and descended on to a piece of low ground between the forks of a stream which they imagined was the creek they sought. At sunset the sky cleared, and the weather becoming excessively cold, they spread their blanket on the snow and kindled a fire. The snow rendering it difficult to procure wood that would burn, they were kept busy all night collecting fuel. It was intensely cold. The beech trees froze so hard as to crack and snap like pistols, a proof of the extreme severity of the frost. They, however, comforted themselves with the thought of the warm bed in which they should sleep the next night, not once suspecting that the stream which they were following was any other than Meigs Creek.

In the morning they started at a brisk pace to keep themselves from freezing, and as the sun shone that forenoon they discovered that the stream ran east, instead of south-west, as they knew Meigs Creek did. Thinking it would soon change its direction, they continued to be guided by its current, until it ran nearly north-west, and the body of water became larger than Meigs Creek at its mouth. This confirmed them in the belief that it was Wills Creek, a large tributary of the Muskingum, and that they had missed



their way. Just before sunset they kindled a fire, and having gathered wood for the night, set up some large branches behind them to break the force of the wind. After eating their last morsel of venison, they began to discuss the probable result of their condition. They were forty miles from Waterford when they started, and after two days' hard travelling, supposed themselves to have deviated nearly double that distance. They were without food; and although the woods abounded in game, they had no gun with which to procure a supply. They were both thinly clad for the winter, and had no blanket with which to cover themselves at night, the one they carried being spread beneath them as a security against the snow. In addition to this, there only remained a single priming of powder with which to kindle their last fire; and on examining their feet, which had become extremely painful, they found them severely frost-bitten.

The next day they attempted to retrace their steps. Life or death now depended on their exertions; and redoubling their efforts, they reached their first night's encampment a little before sunset. The full moon had arisen clear and cold, shedding her soft and silvery light over the forest, and as they had no food, they resolved to continue their journey as far as they could. Hitherto their former tracks had served to direct their footsteps, but when they ascended the



ridge, the wind had drifted the snow so as to obliterate the impressions. In ascending the ridge their strength failed, and they were compelled to halt for the night. The flint and the old jack-knife, together with the tow and the last priming of powder, were now produced; and Davis, whose hands had been wrapped in the blanket the whole of the day, attempted to strike a light. But his fingers were so benumbed with the cold that it was some minutes before he succeeded. It was a trying moment. Their lives depended on his success, for without a fire they certainly would have frozen to death. At length the life-giving spark was elicited, the powder flashed, the tow string caught the blaze, and after a great deal of blowing, a fire was kindled. After another night spent in watching their fire, and the progress of the moon through the heavens, morning at last appeared.

Their feet had now become so much swollen that it was not until after a succession of painful efforts they gradually succeeded in reaching the top of the ridge, when losing all feeling from the effects of the cold, they set forward at their usual pace. The ridge was very devious in its direction, and they sometimes found themselves wandering off from it down some point or spur, and had to retrace their steps back again, which caused them to travel two or three miles to gain one ahead. About



the middle of the day they strayed again from the ridge into a deep hollow, and weary of going back concluded to see the result. They soon came to a small run of water, and as they had heretofore gone down the stream, they thought this time they would go up, and were again guided back to the ridge. They had been on the ridge but a short time when Davis stepped on the leg and foot of a deer which was covered with snow, bringing it to the surface. Ford, who was a little behind him, instantly recognised it as one he had seen three days before, near to the spot where their guide had left them. Had it not been for this interposition of Providence, they would have continued to wander through the woods until night had again overtaken them, and would most probably have perished from the combined effects of cold and inanition. But by the aid of this little memento, and some slight marks made by the hunters on the trees, they struck Salt Creek, and following the course of its waters, reached the station about four o'clock in the afternoon, on the fourth day of their wanderings.

Their friends were greatly surprised at their appearance, and knowing they were destitute of food, concluded they had perished in the woods. On examining their feet, it was found that their stockings were so completely frozen to them as to be separated only with difficulty.



Poultices of slippery elm bark were applied; but notwithstanding the utmost care, neither Ford nor Davis recovered without suffering a slight degree of mutilation.

During the year 1796, settlements increased rapidly in the West. The town of Chillicothe was founded on the Scioto River, by Nathaniel Massie. This contained, before the commencement of winter, several stores, taverns, and shops for mechanics. It afterward became the seat of government of the North-Western Territory, which was removed by an act of Congress, in 1800, from Cincinnati to Chillicothe.

Toward the close of 1796, General Wayne, on his return from Detroit to the Eastern States, fell sick, and died in a cabin at Presque Isle, now Erie, Pennsylvania, but at that time only a small village on the borders of the wilderness. His remains, deposited at his own request under the flagstaff of the fort on the shores of Lake Erie, were subsequently removed by his son to Radnor churchyard, Delaware county, Pennsylvania. Wayne was one of the best and bravest of the revolutionary generals. He was irresistible in leading a charge, and a man whose usual impetuosity of character bordered on rashness; but he conducted his last campaign with great caution and acknowledged skill.



## CHAPTER XII.

Proceedings of the Ohio Company—Block-house schools—Amusements at Farmer's Castle—Pioneer life in Ohio—Description of a log cabin—Scarcity of domestic utensils illustrated—The mode of effecting a clearing—The settler's table—Difficulties in grinding corn and in procuring provisions—Schemes of hunters to elude the vigilance of their game—The winter's hunt—Indian hunters—Their mode of transacting business with the fur traders—A winter evening in the log cabin.

A TRACT of one hundred thousand acres of land, termed the “Donation Tract,” had been granted to the Ohio Company by Congress, provided that within five years from the date of the grant, that company should obtain a settler to every hundred acres, any portion of the land not thus taken up within the specified time, to revert to the general government. In May, 1793, the trustees of this “Donation Tract” held a meeting in order to define its boundaries, and the terms on which the land was to be allotted to settlers. It was agreed at this meeting that those who were already settled on the “Donation Tracts” at Waterford, Wolf Creek Mills, and Duck Creek, should be first provided with lots, and that General R. Putnam should be appointed to superintend the surveying and deeding of the



lots, for which service he was to be allowed to charge five dollars, to be paid by the person receiving the deed. It was also agreed that the person purchasing the lot must be a male, not under eighteen years of age, and residing at one of the stations of defence within the settlement. By the 17th of July nine allotments had been surveyed as settlements for associations of individuals from ten to thirty-two in number, in the neighbourhood of the Marietta, Belpré, and Waterford stations. The names of these persons are recorded in the journal of the company, showing that in July, 1793, there were only one hundred and eighty-six males capable of bearing arms settled on the extensive tracts of land connected with those stations.

But though restricted within the limits of picketed enclosures, the inhabitants were not insensible to their parental duties. Schools were taught in the blockhouses, where their children were instructed in the common branches of an English education. The necessary funds were partly supplied by the Ohio Company, the remainder being furnished from their own slender resources. The teachers generally served for low wages, as they could not profitably employ their time in any other way. Jonathan Baldwin, a liberally educated gentleman from Massachusetts, kept school nearly two years in the station on the Muskingum; and in Campus Martius a



school was taught in the north-west blockhouse, in the winter of 1789, by Major Anselm Tupper, which was kept up for several winters in succession.

During the autumnal months an island in the vicinity of Farmer's Castle was much visited. The young people frequently assembled for the purpose of going there, and gathering grapes, papaws, nuts, &c., the woods being in a great measure free from undergrowth, and abounding in beautiful walks. Here also several families resided, and here the young men and maidens, escaping from the tedium of confinement, would wander amid the lovely scenery of the island without fear of outlying Indians, whose fierce and swarthy visages were mingled more or less with the thoughts of their most cheerful hours.

The present residents of the now flourishing state of Ohio, living in the midst of plenty, can form but a faint conception of the hardships and privations endured by their predecessors. The first object of the pioneer, after selecting a suitable spot, was to build a log cabin of proper dimensions as a residence for his family. The walls of this cabin were constructed of logs piled one upon another, the space between being completely closed with tempered clay. The floor was made of puncheons or planks, formed by splitting logs to about two and a half or three



inches in thickness, and hewing them on one or both sides with the broad axe. The roof and ceiling were composed of clap-boards, a species of pioneer lumber resembling barrel staves before they are shaved, but split longer, wider, and thinner. The walls of the log cabin having been erected, the doors and windows were then sawn out; the steps of the door being made with the pieces cut from the walls, and the door itself formed of the same material as the floor. The apertures in the walls intended for windows were pasted over with paper lubricated with bear's oil or lard, which was used as a substitute for glass. This paper resisted the rain tolerably well, and at the same time subdued the direct rays of the sun, and admitted into the rude apartment a light beautifully softened and mellowed.

The furniture of the log cabin corresponded to the cabin itself in simplicity and rudeness of construction. The bedstead was usually formed in the following manner. Two round poles were first fixed in the floor as uprights, at a distance from each other and from the wall of the cabin, equal to the intended length and breadth of the bedstead. A pole was then inserted into either post as a side rail, and two other poles were also fixed in them, at right angles to the plane of the wall, their ends being wedged into the crevices between the logs. Some



puncheons were then split, and laid from the side rail across the bedstead, their ends being also inserted into the chinks of the log wall. This constituted the bottom of the bedstead. The skins of the bear, the buffalo, and the deer, formed the bedding. The shelves of the log cabin were made of clap-boards supported on wooden pegs driven in between the logs, and on these were displayed such wooden, pewter, and earthenware plates and dishes as the pioneer was fortunate enough to possess. One pot, kettle, and frying-pan were considered to be the only articles absolutely indispensable, though some included the tea-kettle. The few plates and dishes on the clap-board shelf were sufficient for the simple wants of their owners, who relished their food not the less that it was eaten from common trenchers and from a puncheon table. The great scarcity of domestic utensils among the settlers often taxed their ingenuity to supply the want when an influx of visitors unexpectedly trespassed upon their hospitality.

“A year or two after we arrived,” writes one of the earlier pioneers, “a visiting party was arranged by the ladies in order to call on a neighbouring family who lived a little out of the common way. The hostess was much pleased to see us, and immediately commenced preparing the usual treat on such occasions—a cup of tea with its accompaniments. She had only one fire-



proof vessel in the house, an old broken bake-kettle, and it was some time before tea was ready. In the first place, some pork was fried in the kettle to obtain lard; secondly, some cakes were made and fried in it; thirdly, some short cakes were prepared in it; fourthly, it was used as a bucket to draw water; fifthly, the water was boiled in it; and finally, the tea was put in, and a very excellent and sociable dish of tea we had."

The seats in the log house were generally three-legged stools, for owing to the unevenness of the puncheon floor a chair with four legs could not be readily made to stand evenly upon its surface. Some of the wealthier families might have a few split-bottomed chairs, but more frequently stools and benches occupied the place of chairs and sofas.

After the pioneer had completed his log house, the next thing to be done was to effect a "clearing" around it for a "corn-patch." When the trees were cut down, the ground was usually ploughed with a shovel-plough, this being the best instrument with which to force a way among the roots. As the clearing expanded, many were the farinaceous delicacies which covered the settler's puncheon table. The johnny-cake, made of corn meal, hominy or pounded maize thoroughly boiled, and other savoury preparations of flour and milk. The forest furnished him



with an abundance of venison and wild turkeys, while corn "pone" supplied the place of every variety of pastry. Hogs and sheep were, however, seldom raised, on account of the wolves and bears which infested the woods.

The corn of the first settlers was either pounded in a "hominy block," which was made by burning a hole into the end of a block of wood, or ground in a hand-mill. After the corn was sufficiently pounded it was passed through a sieve, and the finer portion of the meal having been made into bread and mush, the coarse remainder was boiled for hominy. The supper of the pioneer usually consisted of mush and milk. A capacious pot containing this preparation was sometimes placed on the table, and all the guests invited to help themselves. More commonly, however, each person was furnished with a pewter spoon, and a tin cap containing milk, into which he infused the pure mush in proportions most agreeable to his taste.

The pioneers had frequently great difficulties to surmount before they could get their corn ground. Notwithstanding the rich harvests of maize yielded by their clearings, meal was a very scarce article in their cabins. To procure it they had to choose between the hominy mortar or a toilsome journey of upward of thirty miles, over an Indian trace, to the nearest mill. In 1791 flour was so scarce and dear, that the little



which could be afforded in families was laid by to be used only in sickness or for the entertainment of friends, for although corn was then abundant there was but one floating mill on the Little Miami. It was built in a small flat boat tied to the bank, its wheel being slowly turned by the force of the current. It was barely sufficient to supply the inhabitants of Columbia (the second settlement in Ohio) with meal; and sometimes from low water and other unfavourable circumstances, was of little or no service. At such times the deficiency in flour had to be supplied by hand mills, a most laborious mode of grinding.

About this time each house in Cleveland, Cuyahoga county, had its own hand grist-mill in the chimney corner, which has been thus described: "The stones were of the common grindstone grit, about four inches thick, and twenty inches in diameter. The runner was turned by hand, with a pole set in the top of it, near the verge. The upper end of the pole went into another hole inserted into a board, and nailed on the under side of the joist, immediately over the hole in the verge of the runner. One person turned the stone, and another fed the corn into the eye with his hands. It was very hard work to grind, and the operators alternately changed places." It took the hard labour of two hours



to supply flour enough for one person for a single day.

About the year 1800 one or two grist mills, operating by water, were erected. One of these was built at Newbury, in Cuyahoga county. In Miami county, the most popular millers were Patterson, below Dayton, and Owen Davis on Beaver Creek. But the distance of many of the settlements from these mills, and the want of proper roads, often made the expense of grinding a single bushel equal the value of two or three.

It was not an uncommon thing for the pioneer to leave his family in the wilderness with a stinted supply of food, and with his team or pack-horse travel twenty or thirty miles for provisions. The necessary appendages of his journey were an axe, a pocket-compass, a blanket, and bells. He had to cut a road through the woods with the axe, wide enough for his team, ford almost impassable streams, and, as the day drew to its close, look out for a suitable place for a night's encampment. Having decided on the spot, he then, by means of flint, steel, and a charge of powder, kindled a fire to dissipate the gloom and damps of night, to drive off the mosquitoes, and to prevent the approach of wild animals. The harness being removed from the cattle, the bells were attached to their necks, and they were driven forth to find such pasturage as the forest afforded. After having



partaken of his solitary meal, the blanket was spread on the ground in the neighbourhood of the camp-fire, and the wearied backwoodsman, wrapped in its warm folds, slept soundly beneath the trees. In the morning, or, more frequently, long before the break of day, he listened to catch the sound of bells, to him sweet music, for not unfrequently hours were consumed in tedious wanderings before he could recover his stray cattle, harness them to his team, and resume his journey. On reaching his place of destination, if he could only get his grinding done by waiting no longer than one day and a night at the mill, he esteemed himself fortunate. The corn having been ground, the pioneer retraced his steps to his lonely and secluded family, and not unfrequently had scarcely time to rest and refresh himself, before the same journey had to be repeated.

Jacob Foust, one of the Ohio backwoodsmen, when his wife was sick, and could obtain nothing to eat that she relished, procured a bushel of wheat, and throwing it on his shoulders, carried it to Zanesville to get it ground, a distance of more than seventy-five miles from his dwelling, by the tortuous path he had to traverse. His object accomplished, he once more resumed his load, and returned home, fording the streams and camping out at nights.

The animal food which covered the table of



the settler was chiefly obtained from the woods. Hunters, the better to elude the ever-watchful eye of the deer and turkey, wore hunting-shirts of a colour suited to the season of the year. In spring and summer their dress was green; in the fall of the year it resembled the fallen leaves; and in winter, as nearly as possible, the bark of the trees. If there was any snow on the ground, the hunters put on a white hunting-shirt. As soon as the leaves had fallen, and the weather became rainy, the hunter began to feel uneasy at home. "Every thing about him became disagreeable. The house was too warm, the bed was too soft, and even the good wife for the time was not thought to be a good companion." A party was soon formed, and on the appointed day the little cavalcade, with horses carrying flour, meal, blankets, and other requisites, were on their way to the *hunting-camp*. This was always formed in some sheltered and sequestered spot, and consisted of a rude cabin, with a log fire in the open air in front of it, the interior of the hut being well lined with skins and moss, the only bedding on which these hunters were accustomed to sleep.

It was to the spoils of the chase that the pioneers and Indians trusted for the skins and furs to barter for the few necessaries they required from the Eastern States. An Indian trail from Sandusky to the Tuscarawas, passed by the



residence of Mr. Harris, who formed the first regular settlement at Harrisville, in Medina county. It was a narrow, hard-trodden bridle-path. In the fall, the Indians traversed it from the west to this region, remained through the winter to hunt, and returned in the spring; their horses laden with furs, jerked venison, and bear's oil, the last an extensive article of commerce. Their horses were loose, and followed each other in single file, and it was by no means remarkable to see a single hunter returning with as many as twenty horses laden with his winter's work, and usually accompanied by his squaw.

The mode in which business was conducted with the Indians by the fur traders, was as follows:—The Indians walked into the merchant's store, and deliberately seated themselves, upon which the latter presented each of his visitors with a small piece of tobacco. Having lighted their pipes, they smoked and talked together awhile. One of the Indians then went to the counter of the merchant, and taking up the yard-stick, pointed to the first article he desired to possess, and inquired its price. A muskrat skin was equal in value to a quarter of a dollar; a raccoon skin, a third of a dollar; a doeskin, half a dollar; and a buckskin, one dollar. The questions were asked after this manner—"How many buckskins for a shirt pattern?" The Indian, learning the price of the first article, paid for it



by selecting the required number of skins, and handing them to the trader, before proceeding to purchase the second, when he repeated the same process, paying for every thing as he went along. While the first Indian was trading the others looked on in silence; and when he was through, another took his place, until all were satisfied. No one desired to trade before his turn, but all observed a proper decorum, and never offered a lower price, but, if dissatisfied, passed on to the next article. They were careful not to trade when intoxicated; but usually reserved some of their skins with which to buy liquor, and close their business transactions with a frolic.

To such of the pioneers, however, as did not hunt, the long winter evenings were rather tedious. They had no candles, and cared but little about them, except at such seasons. The deficiency in light was, however, partially remedied by torches made of pine-knots, or the bark of the shelly hickory. To relieve the tedium, the pioneer would read aloud to his family from such books as his cabin afforded, or engage in the usual operations of the season, such as shelling corn, scraping turnips, stemming and twisting tobacco, plaiting straw for hats, or cracking walnuts and hickory nuts, of which the inmates of every cabin usually laid in a good winter's supply.



## CHAPTER XIII.

Wolf-hunting—A hunter caught in his own trap—Bears, panthers, and wild cats—Pioneer mode of dressing and making purchases—A cure for drunkenness—Social intercourse of the settlers—Their kindness to the sick—Their hospitality to strangers—An Indian subdued by generous treatment—A scene in the log cabin of Minor Spicer—Description of a “log rolling,” or the raising of a log-cabin—Marriage ceremony in the backwoods—Mode of settling disputes.

THE wolf for a considerable time caused much trouble to the pioneers, and prevented the profitable raising of sheep and hogs in the neighbourhood of the “clearing.” In order to preserve the hogs from the attacks of these animals, it was necessary to build the walls of the hog-pen so high that the wolf could neither jump nor climb them. Their depredations were so great that the state offered a bounty of from four to six dollars on their scalps. This made wolf-hunting rather a lucrative business, and called into action all the talent in the country. Sometimes these ferocious animals were taken in traps. The wolf-trap resembled a box in appearance, formed of logs, and floored with puncheons. It was usually made about six feet in length, four



feet in width, and three feet in depth. A very heavy puncheon lid was moved by an axle at one end, the trap being set by a figure four, and baited. On one occasion, a hunter went into a wolf-trap to adjust the spring, when the lid suddenly fell, and hurled him into the pit. Unable to raise the cover, and several miles from the nearest house, he was imprisoned for a day and a night in his own trap, and would have perished but for a passing hunter, who heard his groans and instantly relieved him.

Bears and panthers were at one time common in the north-western territory, but their depredations on the hog-pen were not so frequent as those of the wolf and the wild-cat, and they were usually more shy in their habits.

Most of the articles of dress worn by the first settlers were of domestic manufacture. Wool was not yet introduced into the country, and all their home-spun garments were made from flax or hemp, or from the skins of the deer, which, when nicely dressed, afforded warm and comfortable clothing. Such was the settler's every-day and holiday garb. A common American check was considered a superb article for a bridal-dress, and such a thing as silk or satin was never dreamt of. A yard of cotton check, which can now be obtained for twelve and a half cents, then cost one dollar, and five yards was deemed an ample dress pattern. The coarsest calicoes were



one dollar per yard, while whiskey was from one to two dollars per gallon, and as much of this article was sold as of any thing else. The country merchants, however, found it advantageous to their business to place a bottle of the liquor on each end of the counter, for the gratuitous use of their customers.

In the fall of 1800, Ebenezer Zane laid out a town in Fairfield county, and in compliment to a number of emigrants from Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, who had purchased lots, called it New Lancaster. It retained that name until 1805, when, by an act of the legislature, the word "New" was dropped. Shortly after the settlement was made, and while the stumps were yet in the streets, the cheapness of whiskey occasionally led some of the settlers to indulge in drunken frolics, which not unfrequently ended in a fight. In the absence of law, the better disposed part of the population held a meeting, at which it was resolved that any person in the settlement found intoxicated, should for every such offence either dig a stump out of the street, or suffer personal chastisement. The result was, that after several of the offenders had expiated their offences, dram-drinking ceased, and sobriety and good conduct marked the character of the people.

For many years the pioneers lived together on a footing of social equality. The rich and the



poor dressed nearly alike. What little aristocratic feeling any new settler might bring with him, was soon dissipated, for all soon found themselves equally dependent. The pioneers knew who were sick for many miles around, and would very cheerfully tender their assistance to each other under such circumstances. All sympathized on these occasions, and the log-cabin of the invalid would be visited not only by those in his own immediate neighbourhood, but by settlers from a distance, who would keep him well supplied with the best of every thing their primitive habits could afford.

The stranger ever received at the log-cabin of these pioneers a generous welcome. The rough fare on the puncheon table was most cheerfully shared, and any offer of remuneration would offend them. Even the Indian, in times of peace, was no exception, and would be received and kindly entertained with such fare as the cabin afforded. This pioneer hospitality, together with its happy effects on one occasion, is well exemplified in the following confession of a converted Wyandot chief, named Rohn-yen-ness. He had been chosen by his tribe to murder Andrew Poe, a woodsman, celebrated in border warfare, who had slain, among others, one of the bravest warriors in the Wyandot nation. This Indian proceeded to Poe's house, where he was received with the utmost kindness and hospitality.



Poe having no suspicion whatever of his design, furnished him with the very best which his cabin afforded. When bedtime came, a pallet was carefully prepared for their Indian guest, by the hospitable couple, in their own chamber. The unsuspecting hunter and his family having fallen into a deep sleep, the Indian had now a fair opportunity to accomplish their destruction. He thought of the duty he owed to his nation, of the death of its most valiant warrior, and of the anger of his tribe; but Poe had received him with so much kindness, had treated him so much like a brother, that he could not summon a sufficient amount of resolution to kill him, and in this unsettled state of mind he lay till about midnight. Once more he arose from his pallet, and approached his sleeping host. His sinewy arm was uplifted, and the murderous weapon glittered in his hand. Again the kindness of the sleeping pioneer shook the resolution of the Indian, who feeling it to be unworthy the character of a warrior to kill even an enemy who had reposed in him such a generous confidence, returned to his pallet and slept till morning.

During the war, however, it was necessary to be more guarded in entertaining Indians; and although the following incident is more romantic than tragic, it affords a good general illustration of the danger to which the settlers were exposed.

One night, just before retiring to rest, a back-



woodsman of the name of Minor Spicer, residing near Akron, in Summit county, heard some one call in front of his log cabin. He went out and saw a large Indian with two rifles in his hand, and a deer quartered and hung across his horse. Spicer asked him what he wanted. The Indian replied in his own dialect, when the other told him he must speak in English or he would unhorse him. He finally gave Spicer to understand that he wanted to stay all night, a request which was reluctantly granted. The rifles of the Indian were placed in a corner, his venison hung up, his horse stabled in an out-house, and the Indian invited to enter the dwelling of the settler.

The savage now cut a piece of venison for Mrs. Spicer to cook for him, which she did in the usual way, with a liberal supply of pepper and salt. He drew near the table and only ate sparingly. The family being ready to retire, he placed his scalping-knife and tomahawk in the corner with his rifles, and stretching himself upon the hearth before the fire, was soon apparently asleep. After a while he was observed to raise himself slowly from his recumbent position and sit upright on the hearth, looking stealthily over his shoulder to see if all was still. Having satisfied himself that the family slept, the savage rose to his feet, and stepped lightly across the floor to the corner where lay his im-



plements of death. At this juncture, the feelings of Spicer and his wife may be imagined, for they were only feigning sleep, and were intently watching. The Indian stood half a minute, to see if he had awakened any one, and then slowly drew forth from its scabbard the glittering scalping-knife. At the moment when Spicer was about to lay his hand upon the rifle which stood near his bed, the Indian crossed quietly to the venison, cut several steaks from it, and was soon after busily engaged in broiling a supply for himself, freed from the pepper which had previously offended his unsophisticated taste.

The social amusements of the pioneers originated in the peculiarities of their habits, and were especially characteristic. On the arrival of a new settler, every one was expected to perform a certain amount of gratuitous labour at the "log-rolling," or the raising of the new cabin. Some felled the trees and cut them the proper length; others prepared puncheons for the floor, and clap-boards for the roof, while another neighbour with his team hauled these materials to the site on which the cabin was to be erected. A large number of persons usually assembled at this place on the day appointed for the "raising," by whom the walls of the house were speedily constructed. The labours of the day having ended, the evening was spent in dancing and other innocent amusements. If the company



had no fiddler, which was not unfrequently the case, some of the party would supply the deficiency by singing.

Marriages among the pioneers were generally contracted in early life, and on these truly festive occasions the youth of both sexes in the immediate neighbourhood, and for fifteen or twenty miles around, would be gathered together. On the morning of the wedding-day, the bridegroom and his friends, with their numerous visitors, assembled at the house of the bride, and after the ceremony was performed the company were entertained with a most substantial backwoods feast of beef, pork, fowls, with plenty of potatoes, cabbages, and other vegetables. After dinner the young people engaged in various rural sports until dancing commenced, which was kept up for the remainder of the day, and not unfrequently through the whole of the night. The dances most in vogue being ordinarily three and four-hand reels, or square sets and jigs.

The next day the whole party were accustomed to return to the house of the "groom," to partake of the "infair." On arriving within a mile of the dwelling, two young men would volunteer to race for the bottle. Mounted on ponies, (the rougher the road the better,) both started with an Indian yell, and away they went over logs, brush, muddy hollows, hills, and glens, the obstacles on the road only serving for a better display of



rival intrepidity and horsemanship. The bottle was always filled and ready to be presented to the first who reached the door. The successful competitor having drank the health of the bride and groom, then returned in triumph to distribute potations among the company.

Although among the pioneers disputes would occasionally arise, but few ever thought of settling them by legal proceedings. There were other modes of adjudication. Sometimes a duel would decide all difficulties. At others the pugilistic ring was formed; and after a fight, which often afforded an opportunity of displaying great courage and immense powers of endurance, the conqueror would shake hands with the vanquished, and a perfect good feeling would usually be restored between the contending parties. It is true there were some justices of peace, men generally chosen by the pioneers on account of their strong natural sense, who admirably answered all the purposes of their selection.



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## CHAPTER XIV.

Adams county formed—First territorial legislature—William Henry Harrison—Indiana territory organized—Formation of the state of Ohio—Character of the constitution of Ohio—Provision for establishing and maintaining public schools—Proceedings of the First General Assembly under the state constitution—Indian title to lands in Ohio gradually extinguished by treaty—First court in Greene county—Mistake in the administration of an oath—Conspiracy of Aaron Burr—Council at Urbanna.

IN the summer of 1797, a large tract of territory lying on either bank of the Scioto, and extending northward as far as Wayne county, was erected into a separate county by the name of Adams. It was so called in honour of John Adams, the second President of the United States. Washington county was the earliest district formed in the state of Ohio, and embraced within its extensive limits the present counties of Athens, Gallia, Meigs, Morgan, Muskingum, Coshocton, Belmont, Guernsey and Monroe.

Before the end of the year 1798, the north-western territory containing a population of five thousand free male inhabitants, the people were fully entitled, by the ordinance of 1787, to a change in the form of their government. That



instrument provided, that whenever there were five thousand free males of full age in the territory, the people should be authorized to elect representatives to a territorial legislature. These, when chosen, were to nominate ten freeholders of five hundred acres, of whom the governor was to appoint five, who were to constitute the legislative council. Representatives were to serve two, and councilmen five years. Washington county was entitled to two representatives; and by a proclamation of Governor St. Clair this election took place on the 3d Monday in December, 1798—a memorable day in the annals of the territory, inasmuch as it was the first time the elective franchise was ever exercised northwest of the Ohio River.

The election of representatives having taken place, the governor directed them to meet him at Cincinnati on the 22d of January, 1799, for the purpose of nominating candidates for the legislative council. This nomination having been made, the assembly adjourned until the 15th of September following. On that day both branches of the legislature again assembled, and continued in session until the 19th of December. This being their first session, was necessarily a very laborious one. The transition from a colonial to a semi-independent form of government called for a general revision and extension of the statute-book.



One of the most important duties which devolved on them was the election of a delegate to represent the territory in Congress. Before the meeting of the legislature, public opinion had settled down on two persons as candidates for that important office—Arthur St. Clair and Wm. Henry Harrison, the latter being eventually chosen. As soon as his election had been verified, he was ordered to proceed at once to Philadelphia, Congress being then in session. Although he represented the territory only one year, yet he obtained several advantages for his constituents. He introduced a resolution to divide the surveys of the public lands, and to offer them for sale in small tracts. He succeeded in getting that measure through both houses in opposition to the interests of speculators, who were, and who wished to be, the retailers of land to the poorer classes of the community. His proposition became a law, and was hailed as the most beneficent act that Congress had ever passed for the territory. By this means every industrious man had it in his power to lay a good foundation for the future support of his family. At the same session he obtained a liberal extension of time for the pre-emptioners in the northern part of the Miami purchase, which enabled them to secure their farms and ultimately to become independent.

It is proper to remark here, that the territo-



rial legislature which elected William Henry Harrison a delegate to Congress, was composed of a governor, legislative council, and a house of representatives. All the acts passed by the house and legislative council had to receive the sanction and approval of the governor before they became laws, and without his assent were nugatory. The whole number of acts passed by the legislature was thirty-seven; and on the 19th of December their protracted session was brought to a close. In the course of the session, the governor thought proper to veto no less than eleven acts which had met the approval of the legislature. This extreme exercise of power greatly offended the republican spirit of the house, and was doubtless the cause of the very limited prerogatives subsequently granted to the governors of Ohio, under the constitution of the state.

The great extent of the territory north-west of the Ohio made the ordinary operations of government extremely uncertain, and the efficient action of courts almost impossible. Accordingly, by an act of Congress, all that part of the territory north-west of the Ohio River, including the present states of Illinois and Indiana, was organized into a separate territory called the Indiana territory.

In the year 1800 a census of the population of the United States was taken, and the remain-



ing portion of the north-western territory, including Ohio, was found to contain a population of forty-two thousand inhabitants, sufficient to entitle it to admission into the Union as a separate state. In accordance with numerous petitions to that effect, Congress, on the 30th of April, 1802, passed an act authorizing the call of a convention to form a state constitution. This convention assembled at Chillicothe on the 1st of November; and, on the 29th of the same month, a constitution of the state government was ratified and signed by the members of the convention. It was never referred to the people for their approbation, but became the fundamental law of the state by the act of the convention alone.

The constitution of Ohio, one of the most democratic in the federal Union, gave the right of suffrage to all male white inhabitants above the age of twenty-one, who had resided for a year in the state, and on whom any tax had been assessed. The representatives in the General Assembly, not fewer than seventy-two, nor more than seventy-six, were to be elected annually, and apportioned among the counties according to the number of their voters. The senators, not fewer than one-third nor more than half the representatives, were to be elected for two years, and apportioned on the same principle. The governor, chosen by the people for



the same term, was not to hold office more than six years out of eight. His power was limited to granting reprieves and pardons, convening the legislature, and filling vacancies in state offices when the houses were not in session.

The judicial power was vested in a Supreme Court, Courts of Common Pleas, consisting of a president, judge, and county judges, and in justices of the peace; the judges to be elected by joint ballot of both houses for periods of seven years, and the justices of the peace by the townships for a term of three years only. All other officers, civil and military, were to be appointed by joint ballot of the legislature, except sheriffs and coroners, who were to be elected by the people of their respective counties for terms of five years. St. Clair had been candidate for governor, but received very few votes, the nearly unanimous choice falling on Edward Tiffin.

“ Besides framing the constitution, the convention had another duty to perform. The act of Congress providing for the admission of the new state into the Union, offered certain conditions to the people. These were, First, that the sixteenth section in each township, or, where that section had been disposed of, other contiguous and equivalent lands, should be granted to the inhabitants for the use of schools. Second, that thirty-eight sections of land, where salt-springs had been found, of which one town-



ship was situated on the Scioto, one section on the Muskingum, and one section in the United States military tract, should be granted to the state, never, however, to be sold or leased for a longer term than ten years ; and Third, that one-twentieth of the proceeds of public lands sold within the state, should be applied to the construction of roads from the Atlantic to and through the same. These propositions were offered on the condition that the convention should provide, by ordinance, that all lands sold by the United States, after the 30th of June, 1802, should be exempt from taxation by the state for five years after sale.

“The ordinance of 1785 had already provided for the appropriation of the sixteenth section to the support of schools in every township sold by the United States, and this appropriation thus became a condition of the sale and settlement of the western country. It was a consideration offered to induce purchases of public lands at a time when the treasury was well-nigh empty, and this source of revenue was much relied on. It extended to every township of land within the territory, except those in the Virginia military reservation ; and wherever the reserved section had been disposed of, after the passage of the ordinance, Congress was bound to make other equivalent provision for the same object. The reservation of the sixteenth section,



therefore, could not, in 1802, be properly made the object of a new bargain between the United States and the State; and many thought that the salt reservations, and the twentieth of the proceeds of the public lands, were very inadequate equivalents for the proposed surrender of the right to tax. The convention, however, determined to accept the propositions of Congress, on their being so far enlarged and modified as to vest in the state, for the use of schools, the sixteenth section in each township, sold by the United States, and three other tracts of land, equal in quantity respectively to one thirty-sixth of the Virginia reservation of the United States military tract and of the Connecticut reserve, and to give three per centum of the proceeds of the public lands sold within the state, to be applied, under the direction of the legislature, to roads in Ohio. Congress assented to the proposed modifications, and thus completed the compact." This liberal reservation makes ample provision for securing to coming generations the advantages of education, and thus far the compact on the part of the state has been faithfully carried out. Good schools are now diffused all over the State of Ohio, and all needful attention and aid are given by the people to their support and improvement.

The first General Assembly under the state constitution met at Chillicothe on the 1st of March, 1803. The legislature enacted such



laws as were deemed necessary under the new constitution, and made eight additional counties, viz.:—Gallia, Scioto, Geauga, Butler, Warren, Green, and Montgomery.

At this time all the north-western part of Ohio, to the extent of more than half the state, was still in possession of the Indians; but in 1805, by a treaty with the Indians at Fort Industry, the United States acquired all the lands lying west of the Cuyahoga River, and by subsequent treaties, all the country watered by the Maumee and the Sandusky; and the Indian title to lands in Ohio is now extinct.

On the 10th of May, 1803, the first court for organizing Greene county was held in a log-house, which is yet standing, five and a half miles west of Xenia, near the Dayton road. It was built by General Benjamin Whiteman, a short distance south of the log-cabin mill of Owen Davis, on Beaver Creek. This mill, which was the first erected in Greene county, was finished in 1798. The first business of the court was to lay off the county into townships, after which they adjourned, having been in session one day. The first court for the trial of causes was held in the same log-house, on the 2d of August, 1803. The grand jury having been organized and duly sworn, after receiving the charge of the judge, “retired out of court” to a little low pole hut, which was used as a



jury room. As they had neither nuisances to present nor criminal charges to examine, the pioneers promptly took the matter into consideration; and thinking it a pity to have a learned court and nothing for it to do, endeavoured to find employment for their honours at once, by engaging in divers hard fights in the neighbourhood of the court-house. Owen Davis, the owner of the mill in the vicinity, signalized himself on this occasion. A person from Warren county being in attendance, Davis charged him with stealing his neighbour's hogs. The insult was resented and a combat ensued, in which Davis proved victorious; the latter, who was a kind-hearted man as well as a brave Indian fighter, now approached the court-house. Entering the room, he planted himself before their honours, and addressing one of the judges in particular, observed, "Well, Ben, I've whipped that hog thief—what's the damage, what's to pay?" Suiting the action to the word, he drew out his buckskin purse, containing eight or ten dollars, and tossed it upon the table. Then shaking his fist at the judge, whom he had already so unceremoniously addressed, added, "Yes, Ben, and if you'd steal a hog, I'd whip you too." Nine bills of indictment were found the same day by the grand jury, all for assaults and batteries committed after the court was organized. To these indictments the parties all pleaded guilty,



and were fined, Davis being mulct in damages to the amount of eight dollars for his share in the day's transactions.

The June term of 1804 was the last court ever held in the old log-house. The same judges were present, with ex-governor St. Clair, who acted as prosecuting attorney. A singular occurrence took place at the opening of this court. There was a shelf in one corner of the room, consisting of a board supported by two pins inserted in the wall, on which rested a few books. St. Clair, expecting to find among the latter a Bible on which to swear the jury, carelessly took down a volume and observed with his peculiar lisp, "Well, gentlemen, here is a book which looks *thist* like a testament." The foreman of the grand jury was accordingly sworn upon it; but the book, so much resembling a testament in appearance, proved to be an odd volume of the Arabian Nights Entertainments! This mistake brought the practice of swearing on the Evangelists so much into disrepute in Greene county, that an oath is no longer allowed to be taken on the sacred volume, the witnesses being required either to affirm, or to swear with uplifted hand.

In the year 1805 the conspiracy of Aaron Burr began to agitate the western country. He was a man endowed with the highest order of talent, combined unhappily with the lowest



degree of moral principle. In 1801 he was elected Vice-President of the United States, but soon lost the confidence of his party and was set aside. He was again brought forward by his friends as a candidate for the office of governor of New York, and attributed his defeat to the efforts of his professional rival and political opponent, Colonel Alexander Hamilton. Thus exasperated, Burr provoked a quarrel with Hamilton, whom he forced into a duel at Hoboken, New Jersey, which resulted in the death of the latter. This event rendered Burr exceedingly unpopular, and for ever closed all the avenues to political preferment. He therefore sought elsewhere for fame, power, and wealth. He appears to have contemplated an invasion of Mexico, and perhaps, also, the segregation of the western states from the Federal Union. His talents, together with his plausible and insinuating address, enabled him to seduce several persons of wealth and influence to become partisans in his schemes, prominent among whom was the unfortunate Herman Blennerhasset, an Irishman of an enthusiastic and visionary turn of mind, but a man of education and refinement. This gentleman was the proprietor of a beautiful island in the Ohio River, upon which he had erected an elegant mansion, in the midst of gardens and conservatories, and provided with a valuable library —a little Eden of civilization in the midst of



the wilderness. United to a beautiful and accomplished wife, almost as enthusiastic and visionary as himself, Blennerhasset had lived on this island a number of years, surrounded by all that could make life desirable. On the arrival of Burr, however, his enthusiasm and ambition being kindled by the prospect of larger possessions, he was induced to engage in the illegal schemes of that talented but unprincipled man; thus plunging his family into utter and irretrievable ruin. The admirable position of Blennerhasset's island induced Burr to make it his headquarters, and from this point he made his excursions into Ohio and Kentucky, to obtain boats, men, money, and provisions. His revolutionary schemes were, however, frustrated by the vigilance of the agents of government. Governor Tiffin, authorized by the Ohio legislature, who had been notified of Burr's proceedings, issued orders for the seizure of his boats and military stores; and on the 10th of December a descent was made on Blennerhasset's island, when five boats filled with Mexican volunteers were captured, and subsequently ten more on the river Muskingum. This was a fatal blow to the enterprise. Blennerhasset and Burr were afterward arrested, two bills having been found against them, one for treason against the United States, and the other for a misdemeanor in organizing an enterprise against Mexico when at peace with



the United States. When the trial of Burr came on, several days were consumed in the examination of witnesses, who proved a hostile gathering of twenty or thirty persons on Blennerhasset's island; but as there was no evidence that any force against the authority of the United States had been used, or that Burr was present at the meeting, he was acquitted. The principal in the conspiracy having been thus discharged, the attorney-general declined all further proceedings against his subordinates, and Blennerhasset and five others, against whom indictments had been found, were set at liberty.

But the earthly prospects of Blennerhasset were for ever blighted. The militia, on taking possession of his island, destroyed his property and insulted his wife, who succeeded, however, in procuring a boat and escaping. The total wreck of his fortunes by the wanton destruction of his property, compelled him to leave his country for foreign lands, and after years of wandering he finally died, in 1822, on the Island of Guernsey. His accomplished and beautiful wife subsequently returned to America, and preferred claims against the United States, but without success. Their once splendid and hospitable mansion, the resort of many gentlemen of taste and fortune, is now in ruins; the scene of beauty and cultivation, which once surrounded it, is now a wilderness; but the island, still known by the name of



Blennerhasset, will long remain a memento of the fate of this unfortunate family, and be associated in the mind of the traveller, with the designs of Burr, and the melancholy history of his victims.

In the autumn of 1807 some straggling Indians murdered a white man named Myers, a few miles west of the present site of Urbanna. Tecumseh and his brother were gathering the Indians together, and had commenced their plan of confederation. This murder, taken in connection with their proceedings, created a great deal of alarm on the frontier, and actually induced many families to remove back to Kentucky from whence they had emigrated. In order to restore quiet to the settlements, a council was held at Springfield, for the purpose of investigating the facts respecting the murder. Two parties of Indians attended the council, between whom there was an unfriendly feeling existing, one from the north under the charge of McPherson, an Indian agent, and the other from the neighbourhood of Fort Wayne, at the head of which was Tecumseh. The government commissioners present on this occasion were General Whiteman, Major Moore, and Captain Ward. The party under McPherson, in compliance with the wishes of these commissioners, left their arms a few miles from Springfield, previous to attending the council, but Tecumseh and his company



refused to be present unless the council allowed them to retain their arms. After the conference had opened, the commissioners, fearing some violence, made another effort to induce Tecumseh to disarm; but this the chief refused, saying that his tomahawk was his pipe, and that he might wish to use it in that capacity before their business was closed. At this moment, a tall, gaunt Pennsylvanian, who was standing among the spectators, and who had no especial love for the shining tomahawk which he saw in the hands of Tecumseh, approached that self-willed warrior, and handed him an old, long-stemmed, dirty-looking earthen pipe, intimating that if Teeumseh would deliver up his fearful weapon he might smoke the aforesaid pipe. The chief took it between his thumb and finger, held it up, looked at it for a moment, and after steadily regarding its owner, who was gradually receding from the point of danger, immediately threw it, with an indignant sneer, over his head into the bushes. The commissioners now yielded the point, and proceeded to business.

After a full and patient examination of all the facts which were known respecting the murder, it appeared that neither party of Indians was justly chargeable with the crime, but that it was the act of an individual, irrespective of any party connections. Several speeches were made by the assembled chiefs, but Tecumseh was the principal



orator. He stated explicitly the views of himself and his brother in calling the Indians together, disavowed all hostile intentions toward the United States, and denied that either he or those under his control had committed any aggressions on the whites. His manner in speaking was graceful, animated, and commanding, and produced a strong impression on all present. The council terminated, but before its close the hostile parties of Indians were reconciled, and peace again restored to the frontier.

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## CHAPTER XV.

Settlers on the fire-lands—Distress of a family in the woods—Proceedings of Tecumseh—Execution of Leatherlips for witchcraft—Tecumseh's reply to the neutral Indians—Patriotism and bravery of Colonel Johnson—General Hull's scandalous surrender of Fort Detroit—General Harrison appointed commander-in-chief—Plan of operations—Winchester defeated at Frenchtown—Fort Meigs erected—Its successful defence—Cool and deliberate bravery of one of the militia—Fatal results of insubordinate valour—Indian deputation—Death of Logan.

ERIE, Huron, and a small part of Ottawa counties comprise that portion of the Western Reserve known as "The Fire-lands," which was a tract of five hundred thousand acres, granted by the state of Connecticut to those whose pro-



perty was burnt by the British during their incursions into that state. In the spring of 1808 these fire-lands began to be settled, and before the close of the same year quite a number of emigrants had located themselves in the townships of Huron, Florence, Berlin, Oxford, Margaretta, Portland, and Vermilion. These early settlers generally erected the ordinary log cabin; but others, whose habits of life were more migratory, built themselves bark huts, after the manner of the Indians. The occupants of these bark cabins were called squatters, and lived principally by hunting.

For several years after their settlement on the fire-lands, these pioneers were exposed to the greatest hardships and privations, being sometimes almost entirely destitute of food and clothing. Raccoon caps, with the fur inside, and deerskin jackets and pantaloons were almost universally worn; and these, when dried after being wet, were uncomfortably hard and inflexible. Wild meat it is true could be procured; but living on this alone would not support any but hunters who were accustomed to it, and generally enfeebled the most robust constitutions. The result was that a general sickness pervaded the habitations of the settlers, who were sometimes reduced to the utmost distress by their isolated condition. The following account is only one of the many scenes of domestic suffering



which occurred about this time in these unfrequented forests.

A young man with his family emigrated to the Haron River, and built his cabin in the thick woods, at a considerable distance from any other settlement. During the summer he cleared a few acres of land, but in the fall was taken sick and died. Soon afterward a hunter in traversing the forest came to the clearing, and observing a singular quiet about the cabin, suspected all was not right, and knocked at the door to inquire. "Come in," said a feeble voice. The hunter entered, and beheld a woman sitting by the fire, pale and emaciated with suffering and want, and holding in her arms a sickly infant. Another child, reduced to a mere skeleton, was lying on the bed in a corner of the room. The family were literally perishing of hunger. The hunter stood aghast at the scene. Addressing the poor woman with the utmost sympathy and pity, he inquired the cause of her sad condition. She burst into tears, and was for some time unable to speak. At length, raising her head and pointing to the bed, she said, "There is my little Edward. I expect he is dying. And here is my babe so sick I cannot lay it down. I am so feeble I can scarcely remain in my chair, and my poor husband lies buried beside the cabin!" And then, as if the fearful recital had rendered her frantic, she exclaimed, "O! that I



was back to my own country, where I could fall into the arms of my mother!" It was a sad sight. Tears filled the eyes of the rough hunter, and after affording the distressed family all the relief in his power, he rapidly hastened away to procure further assistance.

About the year 1810, owing to the labours of Tecumseh in forming an Indian confederacy to arrest the further progress of the settlements, it became evident to General Harrison that the north-west would soon be subjected to all the calamities of another Indian war unless decided steps were taken to anticipate the movements of the savages. During the year 1811, while Tecumseh was absent on a mission to the southern tribes, his brother, whose talents for cunning far exceeded his abilities as a commander, unable to control the Indians whom he had gathered around him, brought affairs to a crisis. The Battle of Tippecanoe was fought, the Indians defeated, and the schemes of Tecumseh frustrated. On the return of that indefatigable warrior he was exasperated beyond all bounds at the conduct of the prophet. He subsequently had an interview with Harrison and reproached him for marching against his people during his absence. Searcely deigning to listen to his reply, he left the council-room with a haughty air, and went and joined the British standard at Fort Malden.

In June, 1810, an old Wyandot chief, named



Leatherlips, was executed in Franklin county for witchcraft. It was General Harrison's opinion that his death was the result of the prophet's command, and that the party who acted as executioners went directly from Tippecanoe to the banks of the Scioto, where the tragedy was enacted. Leatherlips was encamped at that time on the Scioto, twelve miles above Columbus. An Indian council of two or three hours' duration took place. His accusers addressed the assembled warriors with warmth and bitterness of feeling. Leatherlips was calm and dispassionate in his reply. An effort was made by some whites, who were present, to save his life, but without success. The sentence of death which had been pronounced before was re-affirmed, and six Wyandots were appointed to see to its execution. The prisoner walked slowly to his camp, partook of a dinner of jerked venison, washed, and arrayed himself in his best apparel, and afterward painted his face. His dress was very rich, his hair gray, and his whole appearance graceful and commanding. When the hour appointed for his execution had arrived, Leatherlips shook hands silently with the spectators, and leaving his wigwam, commenced singing his death song with a voice of surpassing melody and sweetness. The Wyandot warriors slowly followed their victim, timing their march to his mournful music. The white men joined in that



strange procession, until it came to a shallow grave, which unknown to them had been prepared previously by the Indians. Here Leatherlips knelt down, and in elevated but solemn tones addressed his prayer to the Great Spirit. As soon as he had finished, the captain of the Indians knelt beside him and prayed in a similar manner. After a few moments delay the prisoner again sank upon his knees and prayed as he had done before. When he ceased he still remained kneeling. All the rifles of the party having been left at the wigwam, the spectators were at a loss to conceive how the six Wyandots were to execute their purpose. Suddenly one of them drew from beneath his cloak a keen, bright tomahawk, walked rapidly up behind his victim, and after brandishing his weapon on high for a single moment, struck with his whole strength. The blow descended on the crown of the head, and Leatherlips lay in the agonies of death. The Indians now gathered around, and directed the attention of the white men to the drops of sweat which were gathering on the neck and face of the victim, remarking, with much apparent exultation, that it was conclusive proof of the sufferer's guilt. Again the executioner advanced, and with the same weapon inflicted two or three heavy additional blows. As soon as life was extinct, the body was hastily buried with all its apparel and decorations.



War was no sooner declared in 1812, between America and England, than Tecumseh was in the field prepared for the conflict. In July, those tribes which were inclined to remain neutral assembled in council at Brownstown. A deputation, previously sent to Fort Malden, waited on Tecumseh, and invited him to attend this council. "No," said he, indignantly; "I have taken sides with the king, my father, and I will suffer my bones to bleach on this shore before I will re-cross that stream to join in any council of neutrality." He participated in the battle of Brownstown, and having commanded the Indians in the action at Maguaga, his bravery and good conduct procured him the appointment of brigadier-general in the British service.

In 1811, Colonel Johnson, the Indian agent, was settled with his family at Upper Piqua, in Miami county, the previous eleven years having been spent at Fort Wayne. In the War of 1812, the Indians who remained neutral and claimed the protection of the United States, were placed under the care of Colonel Johnson. He frequently furnished them with white flags, with suitable mottoes, to enable them to pass outposts and scouts in safety. The militia, on one occasion, fired on one of these parties, while bearing a flag fully exposed to view. Two of the Indians were killed, a third wounded, and the survivors, after being plundered of all they pos-



sessed, were taken prisoners to Greenville. Their captors becoming alarmed for the consequences, brought the Indians to Colonel Johnson, at Piqua. He decided to conduct them back to Greenville, restore them their property, and send them back to their nation. He applied to the commanding officer at Piqua for a guard to conduct them on their journey. The distance was twenty-five miles, the road was entirely uninhabited, and known to be infested with Indians who had recently murdered two females near Greenville, and not an officer or a man dare venture. Colonel Johnson then offered to go himself, provided the commanding officer would accompany him; but this the latter refused. All appeals to pride and patriotism proving unavailing, and the case being one which required the promptest action in order to prevent evil impressions from spreading among the Indians, Colonel Johnson finally decided to go alone! Mounting his horse he bade farewell to his wife, whom he never expected to see again, and set out for Greenville, which he reached in safety. Having succeeded in restoring to the Indians nearly all the articles taken from them, he apologized for the wrong they had suffered, and restored them to liberty. After another solitary ride across the country, he returned to Piqua in safety, greatly to the surprise of the officers and soldiers of the garrison, who, to cover their own



dastardly conduct, overwhelmed him with congratulations and apologies.

Great confidence being reposed in General Hull, in consideration of his Revolutionary services, he was appointed, at the commencement of the War of 1812, to command the American army destined for the invasion of Canada. About the middle of June, 1812, this army left Urbanna, and marched through the present counties of Logan, Hardin, Hancock, and Wood, into Michigan. After cutting a road through the forest, and erecting Forts Findlay and M'Arthur on his route, General Hull arrived on the banks of the Maumee, where he embarked his baggage, intrenching tools, and hospital stores, to be forwarded by water to Detroit. The vessels containing these stores was captured by the British in passing Fort Malden. A day or two later the American troops reached Detroit, where Hull proceeded to fortify himself. The loss of his supplies, the defeat of two successive detachments of his army, and his isolated position, so discouraged him, that when General Brock approached Detroit with a very inferior force, Hull, without consulting either his officers or his soldiers, surrendered that important fortress to the British commander.

When the news of Hull's surrender became generally known, it created the utmost indignation. Hull was tried by court-martial, his own



officers taking the lead in the prosecution, and being found guilty of cowardice, was sentenced to be shot, but recommended to mercy in consideration of his advanced age and revolutionary services. The president cancelled the sentence of death, but his name was struck from the roll of officers, a punishment more severe to a soldier, and an honourable man, than death itself.

General Harrison was now invested with the supreme command in the West. The main object of Harrison was to concentrate the forces under his command at the rapids of the Maumee before winter, to re-capture Fort Detroit from the British, and thus be prepared for the invasion of Canada in the spring. In moving on this point he divided his troops into three columns, the right to march from Wooster through Upper Sandusky, the centre from Urbanna by Fort McArthur, on the head of the Scioto, and the left from St. Mary's by the Auglaize and the Maumee, all of which were to concentrate at the rapids. This plan, however, failed. Repeated orders given to General Tupper, who commanded the centre, and by him received at Fort McArthur, to advance to the Maumee rapids, were not obeyed. In fact, that column, instead of advancing, fell back to Urbanna. The left wing, under General Winchester, succeeded in reaching the rapids on the 10th of



January, 1813, and commenced building store-houses and gathering maize from the neighbouring fields. But while thus employed, Winchester was solicited by the inhabitants of Frenchtown, a small village on the river Raisin, for aid against a party of British and Indians who had posted themselves at that place. A council of war was held, and a detachment sent to their relief. The enemy were driven from the village, and on the news reaching Winchester he marched with another detachment of two hundred and fifty men to strengthen and, if possible, maintain the ground which had been won. Frenchtown being only eighteen miles from Malden, where the whole force of the British, under General Procter was concentrated, the British troops secretly crossed the frozen surface of Lake Erie during the night, and erected a battery within three hundred yards of Winchester's camp. The morning opened with shot and shell on the American troops, who fled before a fire which mowed them down like grass. Of eight hundred men, one-third were killed and the remainder made prisoners of war. They surrendered on condition of being protected from the fury of the Indians and safely guarded to Malden. Through the negligence of Procter these conditions were not fulfilled, and many of the unfortunate prisoners were cruelly massacred by the way.



General Harrison was at Upper Sandusky when Winchester reached the rapids. He had heard with much displeasure of the unauthorized movement on Frenchtown from the officer in command at Lower Sandusky, to whom Winchester had applied for an additional battalion to strengthen the camp on the Maumee. Foreseeing the disastrous consequence of the movement, Harrison pushed a detachment forward to sustain Winchester, and followed rapidly in the same direction with the remainder of his troops. The advancing column soon met the fugitives from Frenchtown, and fearful of being attacked at a disadvantage, Harrison fell back to the encampment at the rapids, and proceeded to strengthen its defences. With the aid of two of his most experienced engineers, Captains Wood and Gratiot, he erected a fort on a rising ground a few hundred yards from the river, and which was named by him in honour of the governor of Ohio, Fort Meigs.

On the breaking up of the ice in Lake Erie, General Procter, supported by Tecumseh and the Indians under his command, prepared to lay siege to Fort Meigs. One afternoon, a short time previous to the advance of the British against the fortress, the soldiers assembled on the parade observed on the western bank of the river two strangers splendidly mounted, who seemed to be taking a calm and deliberate sur-



vey of the works. One of the batteries was immediately cleared for action, and the unknown visitors saluted with a shot which tore up the earth around them and caused them to withdraw. The two strangers, it was afterward ascertained, were Procter and Tecumseh. On the 26th of April the British columns appeared on the opposite bank of the river, and under cover of night established their principal batteries on a commanding eminence. On the 27th the Indians crossed the river, and Procter having at length completed his preparations for the siege, opened his batteries on the 1st of May, to which the American guns promptly responded. The British were well supplied with ammunition, and for four days and nights assailed the fort with an incessant storm of shot and shell. A large number of cannon-balls were thrown within the works, and as this kind of ammunition was scarce, General Harrison offered a gill of whiskey for every cannon-ball delivered to the magazine-keeper; above one thousand gills were thus earned by the soldiers during the progress of the cannonade. One of the militia took his station on the embankment, and gratuitously forewarned his comrades of every shot. In spite of all expostulations, he maintained his post, and soon became so skilful as to be able to predict, in almost every case, the destination of the ball. As soon as the smoke was seen rising from the battery,



he would cry out, "Shot," or "Bomb," as the case might be. Sometimes he would exclaim, "Block-house No. 1;" or "Look out, main battery!" "Now for the meat-house!" "Good-bye, if you will pass!" At last a shot came which defied all his calculations. He stood silent, motionless, and perplexed. The next moment he was swept into eternity, a victim to his own foolhardiness.

Before the attack commenced, General Harrison had made the governors of Ohio and Kentucky minutely acquainted with his situation; and General Clay was at this moment descending the Miami with twelve hundred Kentuckians to relieve him. At twelve o'clock on the night of the fourth, an officer arrived from the camp of General Clay, stating that the latter was within two hours' march of Fort Meigs, and desired to know the commands of General Harrison as to the best disposition of the reinforcements. Harrison at once determined to attack the enemy's batteries. He therefore ordered General Clay to land eight hundred men on the right bank of the river, who were to take possession of the batteries planted there, spike the cannon, and immediately return to their boats, and take shelter in the fort; at the same time he ordered a sortie from the fort on the batteries situated on the left bank of the river. Accordingly, at



three o'clock on the morning of the 5th, General Clay disembarked his troops, and directed Colonel Dudley to proceed against the batteries. The latter immediately advanced to the attack at the head of eight hundred Kentucky militia. The success was complete. The disordered flight of the artillerists facilitated the spiking of the guns, which was speedily accomplished. Elated with their easy victory, the militia immediately gave chase to the fugitives. Harrison, who with a group of officers was watching the progress of events, earnestly signalled the detachment to return lest it should be surrounded and cut to pieces by the enemy. Seeing the troops still rushing headlong into the snare, he exclaimed in tones of the deepest anguish, "They are lost! they are lost! Can I never get men to obey my orders?" He then offered a reward of one thousand dollars to any soldier who would cross the river and apprise Colonel Dudley of his danger. An officer made the attempt, but before the boat which was drawn up on the shore could be launched, the brave but rash and unfortunate Kentuckians were surrounded by the main body of the British army under Tecumseh and Procter. A desperate fight ensued, and a slaughter as terrible as that on the shores of the river Raisin. Of eight hundred Americans, only one hundred and fifty escaped death or captivity. Colonel Dudley himself was



among the slain. Notwithstanding this disaster, the sortie of the garrison on the batteries situated on the left bank of the river was eminently successful. The enemy were driven from their artillery, the guns of their principal batteries were spiked, and the troops returned to the fort with more than forty prisoners.

In the mean time, the Indians, enriched with plunder, and tired of a mode of warfare so different from their own, in spite of the entreaties of Tecumseh and his subordinate chieftains, withdrew from the conflict. The Canadian militia also, becoming desirous of returning to their families and their accustomed occupations, deserted in small bodies under the cover of night. General Procter became discouraged, and seeing no immediate prospect of effecting the reduction of the fort, raised the siege on the 9th of May, and retired with his army to Malden.

Leaving General Clay in command at Fort Meigs, Harrison hastened to Franklinton to organize a new army. Here a deputation of Indians waited upon him, and proffered the services of the various tribes in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. Hitherto the United States had advised the friendly Indians to maintain a strict neutrality, and had employed none of them in the army with the exception of a small band commanded by Logan, the nephew of Tecumseh.



The friendly Indians regarded this advice as a reproach on their courage rather than springing from a sincere desire to promote their welfare; and as their settlements had been recently attacked by the enemy, it was deemed right to consent to their wishes and accept such aid as they thought proper to afford.

Logan possessed many estimable moral and intellectual qualities, and fought on the side of the Americans with unwavering constancy. His death, which happened in the fall of 1812, proved him to be a man endowed with the keenest sense of honour. In November, while General Harrison was concentrating his forces on the Maumee, Logan received orders to take a detachment of his tribe, and examine the country in the direction of the rapids. Being soon after driven in by a superior force of British Indians, Logan was accused by an American officer of infidelity to the cause of the United States. The noble chief was indignant at the charge, and declared that he would go to the camp of the enemy, and either return with such trophies as should relieve his character from suspicion, or else leave his body bleaching in the woods.

The next morning, accompanied by two faithful Indians called Captain Johnny and Bright-Horn, Logan started down the Maumee. While taking a little rest about noon, they were suddenly surprised by a party of the enemy, com-



manded by a Pottawatomic chief called Winnemac. Logan made no resistance, but, with great presence of mind extended his hand to Winnemac, who was an old acquaintance, and told him that he and his friends, having become dissatisfied with the American service, were on their way to join the British. Winnemac, familiar with Indian strategy, received this explanation with suspicion. He disarmed Logan and his companions, and placing his party around the prisoners so as to prevent their escape, started for the British camp at the foot of the rapids. In the course of the afternoon Logan succeeded in gaining the confidence of Winnemac, so that he restored to him and his companions their arms. As they were travelling along, Logan formed the plan of attacking his captors, and succeeded in communicating his intentions to Captain Johnny and Bright-Horn. Their guns were loaded, and they put bullets in their mouths to facilitate them in re-loading. Captain Johnny, fearing that the Indian who walked beside him had observed him do this, endeavoured to remove the impression by adroitly remarking, "Me chaw heap tobac."

After sunset the British Indians encamped for the night; and Winnemac, believing that Logan and his party had really deserted the American service, left the camp with three of his companions to gather berries. As soon as they were out of



sight, Logan gave the signal for the attack. Two of the enemy fell, the third being severely wounded. The fire was instantly returned by Winnemac and the Indians from the bushes, and the whole party sought the shelter of surrounding trees. From there being but three of Logan's party to four of Winnemac's, the former could not watch all the movements of the latter. The fourth man of the enemy therefore went cautiously round until Logan was uncovered, and shot him through the body. In the meanwhile, Captain Johnny had mortally wounded Winnemac, and the gun of Bright-Horn had brought down another of the Indians; this caused the other two to fall back. Taking advantage of their temporary retreat, Captain Johnny mounted Logan, now suffering the pain of a mortal wound, and Bright-Horn, also wounded, on two of the enemy's horses, and started for the American camp, which they reached about midnight. Captain Johnny then went back, secured the scalp of Winnemac, and again arrived safely in camp early the following morning.

The news of this gallant exploit soon spread among the soldiers; and when it was known that Logan was mortally wounded, it created a deep and mournful sensation. No one more sincerely regretted this fatal catastrophe than the officer by whose aspersions it had been brought about. As for Logan, he lived two or



three days in extreme bodily agony, and then died. He told the officers and soldiers assembled around him, that he prized his honour more than his life, and that having vindicated his reputation he died satisfied. His death was universally regretted. His popularity in the army was great previous to this fatal excursion; and this noble proof of his fidelity filled the hearts of the soldiers with pity and admiration. He was buried by the officers of the army at Fort Winchester with the honours of war.

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## CHAPTER XVI.

Second invasion of Fort Meigs—Stratagem of Tecumseh—Major Croghan receives orders to abandon Fort Stephenson—His reply to General Harrison—Colonel Ball's skirmish with the Indians—Fort Stephenson bravely and successfully defended—Blue Jacket attempts to assassinate General Harrison at Fort Seneca—Perry's victory on Lake Erie—The interment of the dead after the engagement—Biography of Tecumseh in Ohio—Battle of the Thames.

ALARMED at the progress of the Americans in building a fleet on Lake Erie, Procter was no sooner reinforced by a large body of Indians from the north-west, than he determined to make another attempt to reduce Fort Meigs. On the 20th of July, 1813, the garrison, amounting only



to a few hundred men, discovered the boats of the enemy ascending the Miami. The same night General Clay despatched Captain McCune, of the Ohio militia, to General Harrison at Lower Sandusky, to notify him of the arrival of the British before the fort. Captain McCune was ordered to return and tell General Clay to be particularly cautious against surprise, and that every effort should be made to relieve him.

On the evening of the 25th, an attempt was made to allure the Americans from the fort by an ingeniously devised stratagem, which originated with Tecumseh. The British infantry were secreted in the ravine below the fort, the cavalry in the woods above, and the Indians were scattered through the forest which bounded the Sandusky road. About an hour before dark a sham fight was commenced, in order to impress the garrison with the belief that their reinforcements were being attacked on their route to the fort. The usual Indian yells were heard intermingled with the roar of musketry, and the garrison immediately flew to arms. So skilfully was the pretended battle managed, that officers even of the highest grade were deceived and insisted on being led forth to the rescue. General Clay, however, half suspecting the stratagem, refused his permission, and a heavy shower of rain soon put a stop to the fight, and saved the garrison from a general massacre. The enemy remained



after this only one day about the fort, and on the 28th, embarked with their stores and proceeded to threaten Fort Stephenson.

They had no sooner abandoned the siege of Fort Meigs than General Clay despatched a messenger to Harrison with the intelligence. The latter was then encamped at Fort Seneca, and as all that day the Indians had been thronging the woods in his vicinity, he did not doubt that General Procter was contemplating an attack either upon Fort Seneca or upon the weaker post of Fort Stephenson. He immediately called a council of war, at which it was unanimously resolved that Fort Stephenson was untenable against heavy artillery; and as this could be brought with facility from Malden, and as the loss of the position was not of any consequence, orders were issued to Major Croghan to set the works on fire, and repair with his command to head-quarters.

These orders were received by Major Croghan at a period when to remain was far less hazardous than to retreat. The enemy had already surrounded the fortress, and the gallant major, who had just passed his twenty-first year, after consulting his brother officers, returned Harrison the following answer:—

“Sir: I have just received yours of yesterday 10 o'clock, P. M., ordering me to destroy this place and make good my retreat, which was



yesterday too late to be carried into execution. We have determined to maintain this place, and by heavens we can!"

Ignorant that the air of bravado pervading this letter had been adopted for the purpose of deceiving the enemy, Harrison, who had suffered greatly already through the disobedience of his subordinates, at once decided to order Major Croghan under arrest. Colonel Wells, escorted by a company of dragoons, was accordingly despatched to Fort Stephenson, with the following missive :—

JULY 30, 1813.

Sir,—The general has just received your letter of this date, informing him that you had thought proper to disobey the orders just issued from this office, and delivered to you this morning. It appears that the information which dictated the order was incorrect; and as you did not receive it in the night as was expected, it might have been proper that you should have reported the circumstance and your situation, before you proceeded to its execution. This might have been passed over; but I am directed to say to you, that an officer who presumes to aver that he has made his resolution, and that he will act in direct opposition to the orders of his general, can no longer be intrusted with a separate command. Colonel Wells is sent to relieve you. You will deliver the command to him, and



repair with Colonel Ball's squadron to this place.  
By command, &c.,                    A. H. HOLMES,  
    *Assistant Adjutant-General.*

As the escort commanded by Colonel Ball approached the vicinity of the fort, it was suddenly assaulted by a body of Indians, about twenty in number, from the west side of the road. The colonel gallantly struck the first blow. Dashing in between two savages, he instantly cut down one with his sword. The other aimed a blow at his back with a tomahawk, but by a sudden spring of his horse he escaped the stroke, and the weapon was sunk into the cantel and pad of his saddle. Before the savage could repeat the blow he was shot by Corporal Ryan. Lieutenant Hedges, who was in the rear, followed in pursuit of a large Indian, but just as he came up with him his stirrup broke, and he was projected headlong from his saddle upon the fugitive, knocking him down. Both instantly rose to their feet, when Hedges struck the savage on the head, and as he was falling, plunged his sword up to the hilt in his body. The rest of the Indians fled, but Colonel Ball after this advanced with greater caution, keeping his men ready for another charge, should the Indians re-appear. No further alarm, however, took place, and the whole party moved down to the fort without molestation.



Colonel Wells, in accordance with the orders of the commander-in-chief, was left in charge of the garrison, and Major Croghan proceeded with Colonel Ball's squadron to head-quarters. He there explained to General Harrison his motives for writing the note, together with the peculiar position of the garrison at Fort Stephenson. His explanation being deemed satisfactory, he remained all night with the general, who treated him kindly and with marked attention, and in the morning he was permitted to return to his command.

A reconnoitering party which had been sent to the shore of Lake Erie were the first to discover the approach of the enemy by water, on the evening of the 31st of July. They immediately proceeded to the fort to give the garrison timely notice, and had only passed it a few hours, when the British and their Indian allies made their appearance. The Indians first showed themselves on the brow of the hill opposite the fort, but were speedily dispersed by a six-pounder, the only piece of artillery possessed by the garrison. The British gun-boats next made their appearance, a landing of the troops was effected, and the fort being completely surrounded so as to cut off every avenue of escape, its little garrison, consisting of one hundred and sixty men, was summoned to surrender. The investing force consisted of five hundred regu-



lars and eight hundred Indians, the whole being under the command of General Procter in person. Tecumseh was stationed with a body of two thousand Indians on the road to Fort Meigs, to intercept any reinforcements which General Harrison might send to relieve the besieged garrison. To the summons of Procter, Major Croghan returned the answer of a soldier, and the cannonade was immediately commenced with the utmost fury. The fire of all their guns being concentrated on the north-west angle of the fort, induced the belief in Major Croghan that they would endeavour to make a breach and storm the works at that point. He therefore had the angle strengthened with bags of flour and sand, which proved so effectual that the picketing in that place did not suffer any material injury. He also ordered Captain Hunter to remove the six-pounder in the night to a block-house from which it could rake the exposed angle, to load the piece with a half-charge of powder, and a double charge of slugs and grape-shot, and mask its position from the enemy. On the evening of the 2d of August, when the smoke of the firing had completely enveloped the works, the enemy advanced to the assault. Colonel Short, who headed the principal column, advanced with great bravery to the brink of the ditch, into which he was the first to leap, calling on his men to follow, and in a few minutes it



was filled. The masked battery was now opened, and the six-pounder, at the distance of only thirty feet from the assailants, discharged with fatal effect on the advancing column, killing twenty-seven men, and wounding nearly double that number. Although some of the officers attempted to rally the men, the assault was not renewed, and in the night the besiegers precipitately retired, apprehensive of an attack from General Harrison, of whose force they had probably heard an exaggerated account. This defence elicited the warmest encomiums throughout the United States. The youthful commander and his brave companions were highly complimented by the general-in-chief, and received the still more conspicuous approbation of Congress. The president conferred on Major Croghan the brevet rank of lieutenant-colonel, and the ladies of Chillicothe presented him with an elegant sword, accompanied by a suitable address.

While General Harrison was encamped at Fort Seneca about the time of the attack on Fort Stephenson, an attempt was made to assassinate him by an Indian of the name of Blue Jacket. It was not, however, that Blue Jacket who opposed Little Turtle at the Indian council held prior to the battle of the "Fallen Timbers," but another personage, bearing the name, but without either the military talent or oratorical renown of that celebrated warrior. No people on earth are



more faithful in preserving a secret intrusted to them than the Indians, but each warrior has a friend from whom he will conceal nothing. Providentially, however, the friend of the confidant of Blue Jacket was a young Delaware chief of the name of Beaver, whom General Harrison had countenanced and assisted when an orphan boy, and who now, in the vigour of early manhood, was considered one of the most promising warriors of his tribe. When Blue Jacket told his confidant, a Shawanese warrior, he intended to kill General Harrison, that confidant like a true friend endeavoured to turn him from his purpose. He assured Blue Jacket that the attempt would only insure his own destruction, as a guard surrounded the general's quarters night and day. Blue Jacket replied "that he would kill the general if he was sure that his guards would cut him in pieces not bigger than his thumb nail." The Shawanese, greatly agitated by this rash resolve, revealed to his friend, the Beaver, the fatal secret of Blue Jacket. The Beaver was placed by this communication in a most distressing predicament. He was bound by ties of affection, gratitude, and honour to defend the life of General Harrison, and on the other hand the feelings and principles of an Indian warrior forbade a disclosure of what had been told him in confidence.

While he was hesitating as to what course he



ought to adopt, he saw Blue Jacket staggering toward him in a state of intoxication. The reckless chief, having just been ejected by Colonel McPherson, the Indian agent, from his quarters, was loudly denouncing vengeance upon him for the insult. The sight of the traitor roused the honest indignation of the Beaver, and unable to control his feelings, he advanced to Blue Jacket, and exclaimed:—"You must be a great warrior! You will not only kill this white man for serving you as you deserve, but you will also murder our father, the American chief, and bring disgrace and mischief upon us all; but you shall do neither. I will serve you as I would a mad dog." With one blow the indignant and excited Beaver struck the culprit to the earth, and with the next terminated his existence. Some Shawanese Indians, who witnessed this terrible homicide, were now addressed by the undaunted Beaver. "There," said he, "take him to the camp of his tribe, and tell them who has done the deed."

The Shawanese did not resent, but on the contrary applauded the conduct of the Beaver, and rejoiced at their happy escape from the ignominy which the accomplishment of Blue Jacket's design would have brought upon them. At the treaty of Greenville, in 1815, General Cass, one of the commissioners, related the whole of the transaction to the assembled chiefs, and after



thanking the Beaver in the name of the United States for having saved the life of General Harrison, made him a handsome present out of the goods appropriated to the purposes of the treaty.

In the mean time the utmost exertions were made by the Americans to gain the ascendancy on Lake Erie, and Commodore Perry was ordered to superintend the construction of several small vessels of war, in order to contend against the British squadron, commanded by Captain Barclay, which up to this time possessed complete control of the lake. After overcoming a thousand obstacles connected with the construction of a navy in that remote and thinly settled region, Perry at length completed two new brigs of twenty guns each, which he named the Niagara and the Lawrence. These, together with the flotilla previously in his possession, consisting of a captured ship called the Caledonia, mounting three heavy guns, the Ariel with four long twelves, the Scorpion and Somers, each of two guns, and three other small vessels of one gun each, made up a naval force of fifty-five guns. This fleet Commodore Perry considered capable of successfully encountering the British squadron of war vessels carrying altogether sixty-four guns; at any rate, he determined to give the matter a trial. Perry had, however, a decided advantage over the British commodore



in able seamen, Barclay's vessels being chiefly manned by Canadian watermen and soldiers. The weight of metal was also in favour of Perry, the British guns being better suited to an action at long-shot. On each side the respective crews amounted to about five hundred men.

Having got his ships under weigh, Perry sailed to the head of the lake and anchored in Put-in-bay, opposite to and distant about thirty miles from Malden. Here he remained at anchor several days, watching the movements of the enemy, and determined to offer battle the very first opportunity; but for some time Barclay avoided an action in the hope of obtaining additional sailors. Being disappointed in this, and his provisions getting short, he sailed from Malden in order to seek an engagement.

On the 10th of September, at sunrise, the British fleet appeared in the offing, distant about ten miles. Commodore Perry immediately weighed anchor, and with a light breeze from the south-west sailed in the direction of the hostile squadron. At ten o'clock the wind hauled to the south-east, which brought the American vessels to windward, and gave them the weather-gage. Commodore Perry, who was on board the Lawrence, now hoisted his fighting flag, bearing the motto, "Don't give up the ship!"—the dying words of the gallant captain whose name the vessel bore. He then formed his line of



battle and bore up to the enemy, who, at the same time, hauled his courses and prepared for action. The lightness of the wind caused the hostile fleets to approach each other but slowly, and prolonged for two hours that solemn interval of silence and suspense which precedes a naval battle. At length, about fifteen minutes before twelve, a bugle sounded on board the British ship Detroit, her crew cheered, and a tremendous fire opened on the Lawrence at long-shot, which the latter was obliged to endure for ten minutes without returning, her guns not being of sufficient length to carry her metal to such a distance. At five minutes before twelve, the Lawrence, having gained a nearer position, commenced firing, but did very little execution. Finding his situation hazardous, Perry made all sail, and directed the other vessels to follow for the purpose of closing with the enemy. But the lightness of the wind prevented them from being brought into close action, while the severity of the fire to which the Lawrence was exposed, soon cut away every brace and bowline, and rendered her perfectly unmanageable. In this situation she remained exposed for two hours to the concentrated fire of the British squadron, within canister-shot distance, until she was reduced to a mere wreck, and nearly the whole of her crew were either killed or wounded. About half-past two the wind freshening, Captain



Elliot brought his ship into close action in gallant style. The commodore immediately resolved to remove his flag on board that ship. He therefore hauled down his fighting flag, and taking it under his arm, ordered a boat to put him on board the Niagara. Passing through a heavy fire of artillery and musketry, he reached the Niagara in safety, and in a few minutes the flag with its inspiriting motto was once more fluttering in the freshening breeze. At this moment the flag of the Lawrence was hauled down. She was utterly incapable of further resistance, and any attempt to continue the combat would only have been a useless sacrifice of the relies of her brave and mangled crew. A fine breeze was now sweeping over the surface of the lake, and under its influence every vessel in the American squadron closed gallantly and fearlessly with the enemy. Finding the Niagara but little injured, Perry immediately determined to break the enemy's line. He accordingly bore up to the British line, through which he passed, firing both broadsides at once; and the small vessels following enclosed the enemy between them, and kept up a most destructive fire until every vessel in the British squadron struck her colours.

The principal loss in killed and wounded was on board the Lawrence; the loss in the other vessels was trifling. The British loss must have



been considerable. Commodore Barclay was dangerously wounded in the action. He had previously lost one arm at the battle of Trafalgar —the other was now rendered useless. He was a brave and experienced seaman; and Commodore Perry, in his official despatch, mentions him in terms of the highest respect and commiseration.

The next day the funeral obsequies of the British and American officers who had fallen in the engagement were performed, at an opening on the margin of the bay, in an appropriate and affecting manner. The crews of both fleets united in the ceremony. The stillness of the atmosphere, the sound of the minute guns from all the ships, the mournful waving of the flags, the strains of solemn music, the slow and measured stroke of the oars in the procession of boats, and the wild and solitary aspect of the place, rendered these funereal rites most impressive, and formed an affecting contrast to the terrible conflict of the preceding day. Then the crews of both squadrons were engaged in deadly strife, with feelings of mutual animosity and bitterness; now they were associated together as brothers to pay the last tribute of respect to the slain of both nations. Two American officers, Lieutenant Brooks and Midshipman Lamb, of the Lawrence, and three British, Captain Finniss and Lieutenant Stoke of the Charlotte, and



Lieutenant Garland of the Detroit, were interred side by side on the margin of the lake on which the American squadron now floated in undisputed freedom.

This interesting naval battle was fought midway between the British and American armies, which lay on the opposite shores of Lake Erie, anxiously awaiting the result. Had the Americans lost the battle, Procter and Tecumseh were prepared to renew their ravages on the frontier; but the triumph of Perry obliged the British general to abandon Fort Malden. After setting the works on fire and destroying the military stores, he commenced a retreat, taking care to carry with him all the horses and cattle in the neighbourhood.

On the day succeeding the engagement, General Procter said to Tecumseh, "My fleet has whipped the Americans, but the vessels being much injured, have gone into Put-in-bay to refit, and will be here in a few days." He could not, however, long deceive the Indians and their chief. The sagacious eye of Tecumseh soon detected signs of a retreat, against which he most earnestly remonstrated, and in the name of the Indians demanded to be heard by the general. Having lost all confidence in the ability of Procter to prosecute the war successfully against the Americans, Tecumseh seriously meditated a with-



drawal from the contest, but was induced to remain.

This celebrated warrior was born at Piqua, in Clarke county, Ohio, in the year 1768. Like Napoleon, even in his boyish pastimes he showed a passion for war, and was loved and respected by his companions, who regarded him as their leader. The first battle which he is said to have fought occurred at Dayton, in Montgomery county, between a party of Kentuckians under Colonel Logan, and some Shawanees. When about seventeen years of age, he manifested great military skill and prowess in an attack on some boats on the Ohio, near Maysville, Kentucky. The boats were all taken and those in them killed with the exception of one person, who was burnt alive. Tecumseh was a silent spectator of the horrid spectacle, never having seen a prisoner burnt before. After it was over he expressed his strong abhorrence of the cruel practice, and by his eloquence persuaded his party never again to indulge in such barbarities. From this period his reputation as a brave warrior rapidly rose. In the summer of 1795 he was made a chief; and from the spring of that year until 1796 he resided on Deer Creek, near the present site of Urbanna. While residing on Deer Creek an incident occurred which greatly enhanced his reputation as a hunter. One of his brothers, and several Shawanees of his own age, proposed



to wager with him that they could each kill as many deer in the space of three days as he could. Tecumseh promptly accepted the challenge. The parties took to the woods, and at the end of the time stipulated returned with the evidences of their success. None of Tecumseh's opponents had more than twelve deer skins, he brought upward of thirty. From this time Tecumseh was generally conceded to be the greatest hunter in the Shawanese nation.

From Deer Creek Tecumseh removed, in the spring of 1796, to the vicinity of Piqua on the Great Miami. In 1798 he accepted the invitation of the Delawares, then residing, in part, on White River, Indiana, to remove to that neighbourhood with his followers. He continued in that vicinity a number of years, gradually extending his influence among the Indians.

In 1799 there was a council held about six miles north of Urbanna, for the adjustment of certain difficulties which had arisen between the Indians and the settlers on Mad River. Tecumseh, with other Shawanese chiefs, attended and made a speech which was much admired. A French interpreter, named Dechauiset, although as well acquainted with the language of the Shawanese as with that of France, said that he found it very difficult to translate the lofty flights of Tecumseh on this occasion.

In 1803 a stout Kentuckian came to Ohio



for the purpose of exploring the lands on Mad River, and stopped at the house of Captain Abner Barrett, situated on the head waters of Buck Creek. In the course of the evening intelligence was brought to Captain Barrett of the arrival and encampment of several Indians in his immediate neighbourhood, on hearing which the stout Kentuckian displayed considerable alarm. Shortly after the announcement of this unwelcome news, the door of Barrett's house was suddenly opened, and Tecumseh entered with his usual stately air. He paused and looked around in silence until his eye rested on the trembling coward, who did not even venture to look the stern savage in the face. His terror was perceived by Tecumseh, who turning to his host and pointing him out, exclaimed, "A big baby! Big baby!" He then stepped up to him, and touching him on the shoulder, reiterated, "Big baby! Big baby!" while the curl of his lip expressed the most supreme contempt.

From the year 1805 to 1808 Tecumseh with his brother Laulewasikaw, the prophet, resided at Greenville. It was here that they formed their plans of hostility to the whites. During their residence at this place they were visited by many Indians, who were wrought into the highest excitement by the eloquence of Tecumseh, and the cunning of the prophet.

With the battle of Tippecanoe the prophet lost



his popularity among the Indians, he having previously promised them a certain victory. Tecumseh never recovered from the effects of that disastrous engagement. He became the ally of the British from necessity and policy. He knew that they did not care either for him or his Indians; and he hated and despised them as much as he did the Americans. His bravery and humanity throughout the war of 1812 has been already recorded. He entered the battle of the Thames with a strong conviction that he should not survive it. Farther flight he deemed disgraceful, though the hope of victory was too feeble to inspire him with eagerness for the combat. He however heroically took his stand among his followers, raised the war-whoop, and boldly met the enemy, resolved on victory or death. From the commencement of the attack on the Indian line his voice was heard animating the Indians, and when that was silent for ever, the battle ceased, and the Indians at once surrendered. It is stated by Mr. James, a British historian, that Tecumseh after he fell was not only scalped, but that his body was actually *flayed*, and the skin converted into razor strops by the Kentuckians. This unworthy treatment is, however, not confirmed by the testimony of any other historian. The humanity and bravery of Tecumseh were well known to the American soldiers, and it is very unlikely that his remains



should have been abused in this manner by Colonel Johnson's brave and gallant riflemen. There is also much conflicting testimony relating to the manner of his death, which renders it exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain the precise facts. It is generally believed that he fell by a pistol-shot fired by Colonel Johnson; and it is probable that his remains received honourable interment after the battle. He left a son who, when Tecumseh fell, was about seventeen years of age, and fought by his side. The latter was subsequently honoured with the recognition of the British government, but he possessed neither the influence, courage, or sagacity of his father.



## CHAPTER XVII.

Council at Dayton—Peace with England—Columbus made the capital of the state—Extinction of the Indian title—Treaty with the Delaware and Wyandot Indians—Banking in Ohio—Contest between Ohio and the Bank of the United States—Nullification in Ohio—Last days of Arthur St. Clair—The Ohio and Miami canals—History of common schools in Ohio—School and canal laws passed—Seneca Indians—Execution of Seneca John for witchcraft—Departure of the Senecas for the far West.

IN the month of March, 1814, a council was convened at Dayton, Montgomery county, at which the Indians present were required to take up arms against the British, seventy-five cents a day being allowed to each warrior. Most of the Indians engaged to aid the Americans, should the war with England continue. Happily, however, such was not the case, for on the 24th of December the Treaty of Ghent was signed by the representatives of England and the United States. By the terms of this treaty it was agreed that there should be a mutual restoration of all conquered territory, and an appointment of commissioners to negotiate the boundaries. In case of disagreement, the points in dispute to be settled by arbitration. The question of im-



pression and neutral rights, the sole ostensible cause of the war, was evaded by both parties, not a word being said on that subject, a common termination of wars between belligerent and powerful nations, and of which Great Britain herself has given more than one instance. This treaty, having been unanimously ratified and formally promulgated, was received throughout the United States with public rejoicings, and a day was set apart by Congress for a national celebration, with suitable religious exercises in the churches.

In 1816 the seat of the state government was permanently established at Columbus, the proprietors of the town having, pursuant to an agreement, erected the statehouse and other public buildings for the accommodation of the legislature. Before this period there was no permanent state capital in Ohio. The sessions of the legislature were held at Chillicothe, until 1810, and then at Zanesville. In 1812, Columbus was selected as the future seat of government, while it was yet a wilderness. The site was chosen during the session of the legislature at Zanesville, and is therefore designated in the act as the "high bank of the Scioto River opposite Franklinton." On the 17th of February, 1816, it was enacted, "That from and after the second Tuesday of October next, the seat of government of this state shall be established at



the town of Columbus;" and accordingly, in December, the state authorities met there for the first time in legislative session.

During 1817 an effort was made to extinguish the Indian title within the state of Ohio; and if the Miamies had been present at the council held at the foot of the Maumee rapids, in September, it would most probably have been done. As it was, the Hon. Lewis Cass and Hon. Duncan Walker, commissioners on the part of the United States, purchased nearly the whole state of Ohio from the Indians. By this treaty, however, there was granted to the Wyandot tribe a reservation of twelve miles square, in Wyandot county, the centre of which was Fort Ferree, at Upper Sandusky, and also a tract of one mile square on the Cranberry Swamp, on Broken Sword Creek. So also the terms of the treaty ensured to the Delawares a reservation of three miles square, adjoining the Wyandot tract on its south side; and a tract of several thousand acres of land to the Senecas. The Delawares ceded their reservation to the United States in 1829; the Senecas theirs in 1831; and the Wyandots theirs in 1842. Colonel John Johnson met the Wyandots at Upper Sandusky, on the 17th of March, 1842, and had the honour, as commissioner on the part of the United States, of making the last Indian treaty in Ohio, they being the only Indians remaining in the state.



Every foot of the soil of Ohio has been fairly purchased by treaties from its original possessors. The Wyandots left for the far West in July, 1843, and numbered at that time about seven hundred souls.

The war with England having produced a stoppage of specie payment, a paper currency had been originated; and Ohio, about this time, in common with every other state in the Union, showed the same disposition to excess in her banking operations. Prior to 1816, the main object of the Ohio banks was to facilitate trade, then much depressed. The earliest bank chartered was the Miami Exporting Company of Cincinnati, the bill for which passed in April, 1803. Banking was with this company a very secondary object. Established for the purpose of facilitating commercial transactions, no revenue of any account was raised on the dividends; nor was it till 1808 that the first bank, strictly speaking, that of Marietta, was chartered.

In 1816 the second United States bank was chartered. On the 28th of January, 1817, this bank opened a branch at Cincinnati; and, on the 13th of October, another at Chillicothe, which did not commence business, however, until the next spring. These two branches the legislature of Ohio determined to tax, and deliberately and unanimously passed a law, which authorized the state auditor to levy a tax of fifty thousand dol-



lars on each of the branches, provided they should continue their business transactions after the 15th of September, 1819. This law was passed avowedly for the purpose of compelling the banks to close. The branches not ceasing business, the authorities of the state prepared to collect the assessment. An injunction granted by the Court of the United States, to prevent Ralph Osborn, the state auditor, from proceeding with the levy, was disregarded, and the amount was taken by force, under state warrants, from the vaults of the Chillicothe Branch. The bank responding to these proceedings by prosecutions, both civil and criminal, against the agents employed, the United States Circuit Court had the latter arrested and imprisoned for a contempt of the injunction granted, and ordered the money seized by them to be returned to the bank. In February, 1824, the decision of the Circuit Court was tried before the Supreme Court, and its decree affirmed, whereupon the state submitted. In the mean time, however, the legislature passed a series of resolutions in\* justification of their proceedings; and when the decision of the Supreme Court became known to them, in accordance with those resolves, the bank was for a time deprived of the aid of the state laws in the collection of its debts, and the protection of its rights, and a futile attempt was made to effect such a change in the federal constitution as should completely take



the case out of the jurisdiction of the United States tribunals.

On the 31st of August, 1818, that brave but unfortunate officer of the Revolution, Arthur St. Clair, died near Greensburg, Pa., in the eighty-fourth year of his age. The latter years of the life of this veteran were spent in great destitution and misery, the result of his faithfulness in the service of his country. During his administration of the territorial government he had been induced to fit out an expedition against the Indians at his own expense, and to incur liabilities to the amount of two or three thousand dollars, which he was afterward compelled to pay. Having no use for the money at the time, he did not present his claim to the government. After he was removed from office, he looked to that fund as his dependence for future subsistence, and fully expecting to receive it, repaired to Washington, and presented his account to the proper officer of the treasury. To his surprise and mortification he was refused the money, on the ground that the lapse of time had rendered its payment illegal, even supposing the government was indebted to him. It was also plainly intimated that the lapse of time afforded presumptive evidence that it had been settled, and the money paid him, although no voucher or memorandum to that effect could be found in the department.



The pride of the veteran was deeply wounded by the plea on which his claim was rejected, and he was induced by that consideration, as well as by the pressure of poverty, to persevere in his efforts to maintain the justice of his demands. Through the influence of his friends his case was laid before Congress, and a bill was introduced, granting him an annuity, which was rejected at the third reading, by a vote of fifty to forty-eight.

After spending the principal part of two sessions in useless efforts, he abandoned all further applications, and returned to the Ligonier Valley, in Pennsylvania, where he lived for several years in the family of a widowed daughter as destitute as himself. At length Pennsylvania, his adopted state, from considerations of personal respect, and out of gratitude for his past services, settled on him an annuity of three hundred dollars, which was soon afterward raised to six hundred and fifty. This act of beneficence enabled the gallant old soldier to spend the remnant of his days in peace and comparative comfort.

In January, 1817, the first resolution relating to the construction of a canal for connecting the river Ohio with Lake Erie was introduced into the legislature. New York was the first to commence these noble enterprises, in the construction of the great Erie Canal, and this gave an additional impulse to public spirit in Ohio. Governor



Brown, in his inaugural address of December 14, 1818, referred to the necessity of providing a cheaper way to market for the Ohio farmers; and, in accordance with his suggestion, Mr. Sill, on the 7th of January, 1819, moved that a committee be appointed to report on the expediency of a canal from Lake Erie to the Ohio River. In 1820, on the recommendation of Governor Brown, an act was passed providing for the appointment of three canal commissioners, who were to employ a competent engineer and assistants for the purpose of surveying the route of the canal, provided Congress would aid in its construction. This aid was not afforded, and in consequence of this restriction on their part, the commissioners accomplished nothing for two years. During the interval, however, an interest was excited in the undertaking, which resulted in the Ohio assembly passing a law on the 31st of January, 1822, "authorizing an examination into the practicability of connecting Lake Erie with the Ohio River by a canal." Under this act, James Geddes, of New York, an experienced and skilful engineer, was employed to make the necessary surveys and examinations. Finally, after all the routes had been surveyed, and a careful estimate made of the necessary expenses, an act was passed in February, 1825, "To provide for the internal improvement of the



state by navigable canals," and thereupon the work was commenced in good earnest.

This act provided for the making of two canals: one from the Ohio to Lake Erie, by the valleys of the Scioto and the Muskingum; the other from Cincinnati to Dayton, which was called the Miami Canal. On the 4th of July, 1825, the ceremony of removing the first shovelful of earth was performed by Governor Clinton, who had been invited from New York for that purpose. The Ohio Canal is three hundred and seven miles in length, and extends from Cleveland, on the shore of Lake Erie, to Portsmouth on the Ohio River. Its cost was five millions of dollars. The Miami Canal is one hundred and seventy-eight miles long, and cost three millions, seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars. These works have been of immense advantage in developing the resources of Ohio, which has been changed in little more than half a century from a frontier wilderness to one of the most powerful states in the Union.

About the time the canal enterprise was in agitation, the friends of education called the attention of the Ohio legislature to the importance of a well-devised system of common schools; and on the same day that the law was passed authorizing the canal survey, commissioners were appointed to prepare an educational report, to be presented at the next session of the assembly.



The ordinance of 1787 provided that "religion, morality, and knowledge, being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall be for ever encouraged;" and the previous ordinance of 1785 devoted the sixteenth section of land in every township to "the maintenance of public schools within the said township;" and in the Constitution of Ohio, the very words of the ordinance of 1787 were used, it being there provided that "schools and the means of instruction shall for ever be encouraged by legislative provision." Yet nothing had yet been done to provide common schools for the people, although the governors of Ohio, in accordance with the spirit of these enactments, always mentioned the subject of education with great respect in their messages. When, therefore, Mr. Williams, on the 6th of December, 1821, moved for a committee on canals, Caleb Atwater moved for one on common schools, as it was thought to be then the most favourable time to bring the subject before the legislature. Commissioners were accordingly appointed to report on both measures.

In 1824, a strong opposition existing to these great plans of improvement, the friends of commerce and education put forth their utmost efforts to secure such a legislative assembly as should carry these measures. Information on both subjects was extensively diffused, meetings



were held, and every other means resorted to that could be devised, to secure the election of liberal and enterprising members to both branches of the legislature. These efforts were crowned with complete success; and the autumn election was such as to enable the assembly, in the February of the following year, to pass its commercial and educational bills by large majorities. These bills, which have laid the foundation of so much physical and intellectual good in Ohio, were carried by the union of the friends of each, and by the unremitting efforts of a few public-spirited men.

The Seneca Indians owned and occupied a reservation of forty thousand acres of land on the east side of Sandusky River, situated partly in Sandusky, but principally in Seneca county. This reservation had been granted to them by the treaty of the 29th of September, 1817, held at the foot of the Maumee rapids, to which reference has been already made. At this time their principal chiefs were Coonstick, Small Cloud, Seneca, Steel, Hard Hickory, Tall Chief, and Good Hunter.

About the year 1825, Coonstick and Steel left the reservation for three years, on a hunting and trapping excursion, and also to seek a more suitable home for the tribe in the far West. When they started, Comstock, their brother, was the principal chief. They returned in 1828, with



a number of horses richly laden with furs, but they found Comstock dead, and Seneca John, who was also their brother, principal chief in his stead. As Comstock was their favourite brother, they at once charged Seneca John with producing his death by witchcraft. John eloquently denied the charge. "I loved my brother Comstock," said he, "more than I love the green earth I stand upon. I would give up myself, limb by limb, piecemeal by piecemeal, to restore him to life." But his protestations of innocence and affection were of no avail. His two brothers pronounced him guilty and declared their intention to become his executioners. John replied that he was willing to die, and only wished to live until the next morning, in order "to see the sun rise once more." This request being granted, John told his brothers he should sleep that night on Hard Hickory's porch, which fronted the east, where they would find him at sunrise. He chose that place because he did not wish to be killed in the presence of his wife, and desired that the chief, Hard Hickory, should witness that he died like a man. Coonstick and Steel retired for the night to a cabin in the immediate neighbourhood.

In the morning, in company with another Indian, the brothers proceeded to the house of Hard Hickory. The latter, hearing their footsteps upon the porch, gently opened the door, when



John was discovered asleep upon his blanket. On being awakened, he rose to his feet, and taking his handkerchief from his head, let his hair, which was unusually long, fall on his shoulders. Having surveyed the landscape and the morning sun, and for a moment contemplated the scene of beauty spread around him, he turned to his brothers, and calmly told them he was ready to die. The Indian and Coonstick took hold of either arm, and their victim walked between them about ten paces from the door, when Steel, who was behind, struck him with a tomahawk on the back of his head, and he fell to the ground bleeding freely. Supposing this blow to be sufficient they dragged him under a peach tree, which grew in the vicinity. Here he revived, the force of the blow having been broken by the great mass of his hair. Knowing that it was Steel who had struck him, John as he lay, turned his head and said to Coonstick, "Now, brother, do you take your revenge." This so affected Coonstick that he sought to save him, but Steel drew his knife and completed his sanguinary work. The next day this innocent victim to Indian superstition was buried with the usual ceremonies of his tribe, not more than twenty feet from the spot where he had fallen.

By the treaty concluded at Washington city, February 28, 1831, James B. Gardiner being the commissioner, the Seneca Indians ceded their



reservation to the United States, and consented to emigrate to the Neosho River, south-west of the Missouri. The day before their departure they held a grand religious festival, when they sacrificed two dogs to the Great Spirit. The dogs, which were of a beautiful cream colour, after being strangled, were suspended on a cross. Good Hunter officiated as high priest on the occasion. The Indians being all assembled, the dogs were taken down from the cross, and with much ceremony committed to the flames of a fire expressly kindled for the occasion. The wrath of the Great Spirit having been appeased, the chiefs of the tribe rose in succession, recounted their warlike exploits, the number of scalps they had taken, and what they intended to do in the new settlement. After the speeches were finished, the floor was cleared, and a dance commenced, which was kept up without intermission the whole of the night. During the continuance of this festival the hospitality of the Senecas was unbounded. In the council-house, and at the residence of Tall Chief, a number of deer and hogs were cooked. Bread also, of both corn and wheat, was provided in great abundance. Large kettles of soup, sweetened with maple sugar, were prepared, and all comers were invited to partake of their bounty.



## CHAPTER XVIII.

Tornado in Ohio—Incidents illustrative of its violence—Great flood in Ohio—Proceedings at Cincinnati for the relief of the sufferers—Mormonism at Kirtland—Description of the Mormon temple—Failure of the Mormon bank—The Ohio and Michigan war.

ON the 18th of May, 1825, a most dreadful tornado swept over a portion of Ohio. It was called the "Burlington storm," because its effects were more severely felt in Burlington township than in any other part of the state. Its general course was north by east. Its track through Licking county was from one-third to three-fifths of a mile wide; but became wider as it advanced farther to the eastward. Its average advance was at the rate of a mile per minute, and it did not last more than a minute and a half or two minutes. Houses were blown down, forests uprooted, cattle lifted from the earth and carried to a distance of a hundred rods. Several persons were killed, and others seriously injured by the extreme violence of the wind. Those who witnessed its progress represent the atmosphere as loaded with the fragments of trees, buildings, &c., which, high in the air, resembled large flocks of birds such as buzzards and ravens.



The roar of the wind, the trembling of the ground, and the crash of the falling timber were awfully sublime. For force and violence this tornado has never been surpassed in any other country in the same latitude.

Many incidents are related illustrative of the power and violence of the wind. A chain, from three to four feet long, of the size of a common plough-chain, was carried about half a mile, and lodged in the top of a sugar-tree about twenty-five feet from the ground. A log-house belonging to Colonel Wright was torn to pieces, and his son, while standing at the door, was borne with such violence across the room as to kill him instantly. A coat which was hanging in the same room was found the following November in Coshocton county, more than forty miles distant. The family of a Mr. Vance fled from the approaching storm to an adjoining orchard; there they saw the upper part of their house blown off and carried over the orchard. Two sons of Mr. Vance were killed by the falling timber. A little girl about twelve years of age was completely lifted from the earth and carried to a distance of more than forty rods from her father's house. She was very much bruised, but otherwise not materially injured. A heavy ox-cart was blown out of the yard of Colonel Wright, carried about forty rods, and struck the ground with such force as to break the axle, and entirely



demolish one wheel. A cow was taken from the field of the same gentleman, carried the same distance, and lodged in the top of a fallen tree, where it was found dead.

In February, 1832, the Ohio valley was flooded by water, and an immense amount of property destroyed. An excessively severe winter had been suddenly closed by long continued and very heavy rains, which unable to penetrate the ground, soon raised all the tributary streams of the Ohio to an unusual height. The Ohio itself overflowed its banks, flooding all the towns and villages situated along its shores, and forcing their inhabitants to take refuge on the neighbouring hills. The water continued to rise from the 7th to the 19th of February, when it attained the extraordinary height of sixty-three feet above low-water mark at Cincinnati.

In Cincinnati, the rise of the river carried desolation into all the lower parts of the city, and rendered hundreds of families houseless. Such families as continued to reside in the upper parts of their dwellings, made use of boats in going to stores and other places of business. The water extended over about thirty-five squares of the most thickly settled part of the city, spreading from John street on the west to Deer Creek on the east; and north to Lower Market and Pearl streets. The amount of property destroyed or materially injured was so great as



to cause business of almost every description to be suspended. Active measures were taken by the citizens for the relief of the sufferers. A committee of vigilance was appointed, whose duty it was to render all needful assistance in the removal of persons and goods surrounded by water; another committee was organized to procure shelter for those whose houses were rendered untenable. These committees, consisting of the most influential and liberal gentlemen in Cincinnati, faithfully and generously discharged their duties. The committee of vigilance liberally distributed provisions and clothing to all who applied. Those who had vacant houses and rooms, cheerfully offered them for the use of the sufferers. Public buildings, school-houses, and the basement stories of churches were also appropriated to this purpose, while all classes of citizens vied with each other in extending such pecuniary relief as the urgency of the occasion demanded.

In the year 1832, the Mormons, or followers of Joseph Smith, a celebrated religious impostor, settled at Kirtland in Lake county, Ohio. This sect derives its name from the Book of Mormon, which the impostor Smith claimed to have translated, under the influence of divine inspiration, from gold plates alleged to have been found by him in a hill in Palmyra county, New York. Soon after their arrival at Kirtland, the Mor-



mons commenced building their temple, which they finished in 1835. They were then few in number, but before it was completed they had increased, by means of proselytes, to two thousand members.

The Mormon temple at Kirtland was eighty feet in length by sixty in width, and measured one hundred and forty-two feet from the base to the top of its spire. It cost about forty thousand dollars. It was built of rough stone, plastered over, coloured blue, and marked to imitate regular courses of masonry. Over the large window in the front of the building was a tablet, bearing this inscription; "House of the Lord, built by the Church of the Latter Day Saints, A. D. 1834." The first and second stories were divided into two grand rooms for public worship; and the attic was partitioned off into about a dozen small apartments. The lower grand room was furnished with seats, as in an ordinary church. Canvas curtains suspended from the ceiling could be let down so as to separate the different collections of worshippers from each other, as completely as if they were in private apartments. In the Mormon hierarchy there are two orders of priests, the Melchisedee, who minister in spiritual concerns: and the Aaronic, who attend to the temporal affairs of the society. At either end of the lower grand room was a set of pulpits, four in number, rising



behind each other, and constructed for the accommodation of these priests. Each pulpit was made to seat three persons, so that when they were all present, twelve priests occupied each set. These pulpits all bore initials expressive of the ecclesiastical rank of their occupants. On the Aaronic pulpits, at the entrance of the grand room, were the initials P. D., President of Deacons; P. T. A., President of the Teachers; P. A. P., President of the Aaronic Priesthood; and B. P. A., Bishop of the Aaronic Priesthood. On the Melchisedec pulpits on the side opposite to them, at the farther end of the room, were the initials P. E., President of the Elders; M. P. H., President of the High Priest; P. M. H., President of the High Council; and M. P. C., President of the Full Church. The Aaronic priesthood were rarely allowed to preach, that being the especial duty of the higher order, the Melchisedec.

In 1837 the Mormons made application to the legislature for the charter of a bank. Their request having been rejected, they established an unchartered institution, and issued notes to the amount of several thousand dollars in excess of the specie which they were able to command. This gave their enemies power over them. Becoming unable to fulfil their engagements, the Mormons were obliged to suspend their banking operations. Their bank being an unchartered in-



stitution, its debts could not be collected. Those who had been swindled out of their money were naturally enough indignant. The society declined in numbers and in respectability, and in 1838 the Mormons finally evacuated Kirtland, and with their leader removed into the state of Missouri.

A question had been some time under discussion between the State of Ohio and the territorial government of Michigan as to the true southern boundary of Michigan, which in 1835 threatened to bring on a civil war. It originated as follows:—The ordinance of 1787 provided for the formation in the North-west Territory of three states, and also provided that Congress might form one or two others north of an east and west line drawn through the head or southern extremity of Lake Michigan, and extending eastward to the territorial line in Lake Erie. This, at the time Ohio was admitted into the Union, was construed as meaning that the two northern states were not to be extended to the south of the east and west line specified in the ordinance; and in accordance with this view the territorial line of Ohio was extended northward so as to include the harbour of Toledo or the Maumee bay. But the line of the ordinance was impossible, inasmuch as it would never touch the territorial line by extending it eastward, but on the contrary would leave, north of it, a considerable portion of that part of Ohio known as the Western Reserve.



The constitution of Ohio, however, contained a provision that if the line of the ordinance should not go so far north as the north cape of the Maumee bay, then the northern boundary of Ohio should be a line drawn from the southerly part of Lake Michigan to the north cape of the Maumee bay. Regardless of this proviso, Michigan keeping to the impossible line specified in the ordinance of 1787, denied the claim of Ohio and her construction of that ordinance; and when Ohio sent her surveyors to mark out the boundary as defined in the provision of her constitution, Michigan drove them away by an armed force, and took military possession of the disputed territory; upon which Ohio levied troops, and Governor Lucas put himself at their head, early in the spring of 1835, to maintain the rights of the state.

In the mean time an army was also mustered in Michigan; and while Governor Lucas was encamped at old Fort Miami, eight miles above Toledo, Governor Mason, in command of the Michigan volunteers, made a descent upon Toledo, of which, for a short period, he held undisputed possession.

There appears to have been a considerable panic among the Michigan troops on their march from Monroe to Toledo. The regulars, who had been engaged in more difficult and dangerous service than this, amused themselves by extolling



to the volunteers the expertness of the riflemen in the service of Ohio. These stories, gravely narrated, wrought so much alarm among the militia, that more than one-half of those who had commenced their march at Monroe with so much spirit and boldness, on approaching Toledo, availed themselves of the bushes on the road to withdraw from so dangerous an enterprise.

At this crisis two commissioners were sent from Washington with full powers to negotiate with the belligerents for an amicable settlement of difficulties. Richard Rush, of Pennsylvania, and Colonel Howard, of Maryland, were the agents sent by government. These gentlemen prevailed on both parties so far to recede as to allow the people settled on the disputed territory to acknowledge the jurisdiction of either state, as best suited their convenience or inclination, until the question was settled by the proper authorities.

At the next session of Congress the territorial dispute between Ohio and Michigan was taken up, and able arguments in favour of Ohio were made in the house by Samuel T. Vinton, and in the senate, by Thomas Ewing. After a full discussion of the question, Congress decided in favour of Ohio; and Michigan, having at this time asked for admission as a state into the Union, was told that she could only be acknowledged on condition of recognising the boundary



as claimed by Ohio. Michigan having received the large peninsula between Lakes Huron, Erie and Michigan, as an equivalent for the narrow strip along her southern border for which she had been contending, very willingly submitted, and was soon after regularly constituted one of the members of the federal Union.

The peninsula between the lakes annexed to Michigan is now well known for its rich deposits of copper and other minerals. The chief value to Ohio of the territory in dispute, was the harbour of Toledo, formed by the mouth of the Maumee, which, in the opinion of her leading men at the time, was essential to enable her to reap the benefit of her canals to the Ohio and the Wabash valleys. The result has shown that they judged correctly. Toledo has proved to be the true point of junction for the lake and canal commerce.



## CHAPTER XIX.

Boundaries and extent of Ohio—Its physical geography—Soil and productions—Rivers—Climate—Government and Judiciary—Indian mounds and ancient fortifications—Human remains at Circleville—Population—Colleges and public schools.

OHIO is bounded on the north by Michigan and Lake Erie, on the east by Pennsylvania and Virginia, on the west by Indiana, and on the south by the Ohio River. This state contains about forty thousand square miles, and measures two hundred miles from north to south by two hundred and twenty miles from east to west. It lies between  $38^{\circ} 30'$  and  $42^{\circ}$  north latitude, and between  $80^{\circ} 35'$  and  $84^{\circ} 47'$  west longitude.

The country bordering on Lake Erie and in the interior, is generally level and in some places marshy. The land in the vicinity of the Ohio River in the eastern and south-eastern quarters is broken and elevated, but there are no lofty mountains. The entire region of Ohio is a plateau, or elevated table land, reaching to a height of from six hundred to one thousand feet above the surface of the sea. The most fertile lands are situated in the interior, on both sides



of the Scioto and of the Great and Little Miami Rivers. Vast prairies lie near the head-waters of the Scioto, the Muskingum, and the two Miami rivers, upon which there is no growth of timber. Some of these prairies are low and marshy, producing a great quantity of coarse grass from two to five feet high; others are elevated and dry, with a fertile soil, though they are usually called Barrens. There is a great amount of native forest still remaining, consisting of the various species of oak, hickory and maple, common to the woods of North America. There is also an abundance of beech, black-walnut, buckeye, birch, poplar, pawpaw, sycamore, various kinds of ash, cherry and whitewood, the last being extensively used as a substitute for pine. Wheat may be regarded as the staple production of the state; but Indian corn and other grains are raised in great profusion, and nearly every species of vegetable is cultivated successfully. It has been estimated that nine-tenths of the land is adapted to agricultural purposes, and that three-fourths of it is extraordinarily fertile. Every description of fruit known in the same latitude grows luxuriantly within the state.

The Ohio River, from which the state derives its name, washes its entire southern boundary, and from the extent of the area drained by its waters, and the great facilities afforded by it to



internal commerce, is only second in importance to the Mississippi. This river is nine hundred and fifty-nine miles in length, reckoning from Pittsburg to its confluence with the Mississippi; and with its numerous tributaries, many of which are streams of considerable magnitude, affords an abundant means of internal navigation to the inhabitants. Its current is gentle, with no falls except at Louisville, Kentucky, where there is a descent of twenty-two and a half feet in the course of two miles. Some of its islands are very beautiful. Heavy forests cover a great portion of its banks, and limit the prospect from the river; but they exhibit a beautiful verdure, which is often exuberant with blossoms. The Muskingum is the principal tributary of the Ohio, into which it discharges itself at Marietta. It is navigable for boats through an extent of one hundred miles. The Scioto, navigable for one hundred and thirty miles, enters the Ohio at Portsmouth. The Great Miami, a rapid stream, after a course of one hundred miles, joins the Ohio in the south-west corner of the state. The Little Miami, seventy miles in length, falls into the Ohio seven miles above Cincinnati. All these rivers have numerous branches and forks, extending in various directions to almost every part of the state. A number of large streams also flow, in a northerly direction, into Lake Erie; the principal of which



are the Sandusky River, which, after a course of eighty miles, enters Sandusky Bay, and thence into Lake Erie; the Maumee River, which, rising in Indiana, flows through the north-western part of the state into the Maumee Bay; the Cuyahoga, which enters Lake Erie at Cleveland. The Huron, Black, Grand, Vermilion, and Ashtabula Rivers also fall into Lake Erie.

The climate of Ohio is in general highly favourable to health. The summers are warm and regular, but subject at times to severe drought and occasional whirlwinds or hurricanes. In the country, for fifty miles south of Lake Erie, there is generally good sleighing during the winter for a considerable time, but the winters are not severely cold. In the spring and fall of the year, the weather is delightfully pleasant. In some of the marshy parts of the state, the inhabitants are subject to fever and ague; but these peculiar distempers are always prevalent in such districts.

Scattered through various counties are ruins of ancient Indian villages, mounds, and fortifications. In the Scioto valley, within a compass of from twelve to fifteen miles around the city of Chillicothe, these remains are very numerous. At Marietta are some ancient works, consisting of walls in direct lines and in square and circular forms. The town of Circleville, in Pickaway county, is erected on the site of ancient Indian



fortifications, from one of which originated the name of the place. Few if any vestiges now remain.

A street was opened through one of the artificial mounds in Circleville about the year 1834; and in removing the earth many skeletons were found in a state of excellent preservation. One who wrote a brief narrative of these discoveries says:—"A cranium of one of these skeletons is in my possession, and is a noble specimen of the race which once occupied this spot. It has a high forehead, large and bold features, with all the phrenological marks of daring and bravery. Poor fellow, he died overwhelmed by numbers, as the fracture of the right parietal bone by a battle-axe, and five large stone arrows sticking in and about his bones, still bear silent but sure testimony. The elevated ground a little north of the town across Hargus Creek, which washes the base of the plain of Circleville, appears to have been the common burial ground. Human bones were found in great quantities in digging away the gravel for repairing the streets, and for constructing the banks of the canal which traverse the base of the highlands. They were buried in the common earth without any attempt at tumuli, and occupied so large a space that only a dense population and a long period of time could have furnished them in such profusion."



During the process of internal improvement, numerous mounds have been opened in different parts of the state, and in every instance they have been found to contain human bones, leading to the conclusion that they are tumuli or ancient receptacles of the dead, and were constructed by the labours of successive generations as sacred monuments to the memory of the departed.

Ohio does not contain so many geological formations as some of the other states; there are, nevertheless, immense beds of blue limestone, slate, fine-grained sandstone, conglomerate, and coal. The great coal region lies on the western bank of the Ohio, and underlies not far from one-fourth part of the whole state. The coal strata are interspersed with beds of iron ore, and immense quantities of both are obtained from this quarter for home consumption, and for exportation. Dr. S. P. Hildreth, of Marietta, a gentleman of well known scientific attainments, has accurately described the fossil remains of the Ohio sandstone; he says:—"The sandstone rocks contain many relics of fossil trees of that ancient and curious family, bearing those rare devices and figures on their bark, so artificial in their appearance, as to induce a common belief among the ignorant of their being the work of man before the flood, and buried by that catastrophe in huge heaps of sand, since consolidated into rock. The excavations in sandstone rock



have been, as yet, so few and partial, that but a small number have been brought to light, although the strata are one vast cemetery of the plants of a former creation. I have seen some specimens found in quarrying stones from a cellar, or in grading a road, and have heard of many more, proving that there is an abundant supply laid up for future geologists, when the country shall become more cultivated, and extensive openings shall be made in the earth."

The population of Ohio has increased and multiplied, through accessions from the older states and from Europe, in an almost incredible ratio. The first census was taken in 1790, and gave the population as three thousand; but the census of 1850 estimated it at one million nine hundred and eighty thousand, so that the number of inhabitants may now be safely regarded as upward of two millions. In point of population, Ohio ranks as the third state in the Union.

The people of Ohio are remarkable for their industry, enterprise, and public spirit. Many important public works have been undertaken and accomplished by them. Besides the Ohio and Miami canals, to which reference has been already made, two continuous lines of railroad extend across the state from north to south,—one from Cincinnati to Sandusky, the other from Cincinnati to Cleveland, which is also connected by railroad with Pittsburg, Buffalo, Sandusky



and Toledo. There are also numerous important lines in progress, extending west and east, and, indeed, in almost every direction.

The manufactures of the state are confined principally to articles, the raw materials of which are of home growth, as wool, iron, leather, tobacco, flour, sugar, wax, lard, silk, potash, &c., together with the usual collateral branches.

The constitution provides for the election of a governor every two years; but he cannot be elected for more than three terms in succession. The members of the Senate are thirty-six in number, and are elected for two years, one-half being annually chosen. The House of Representatives is composed of seventy-two members elected for one year. These elections are by the whole people; all white males, twenty-one years of age, resident for one year in the State, and tax-payers, being entitled to the right of suffrage. Columbus on the Scioto is the capital of the state; and the sessions of the General Assembly, commence there annually on the first Monday in December.

The judges of the supreme and other courts are elected, by the joint ballot of the legislature, for the term of seven years. The oldest Supreme Court judge in commission officiates as chief justice. There are four of these judges, two of whom hold a court in each county, once a year. The Common Pleas Courts are held in



some counties three times in each year; in others only twice, by a president judge and three associates. There are superior courts established in Cincinnati and in Cleveland; also a commercial court in the former city.

One thirty-sixth part of all the land in Ohio is set apart for the maintenance of common schools. This liberal reservation makes ample provision for securing to coming generations the advantages of early instruction. Good schools are diffused all over the state, and there are about twenty universities, colleges, and other institutions of a higher order. The amount of school fund owned by the state is one million seven hundred thousand dollars; nearly three hundred thousand dollars being annually apportioned to the several counties for educational purposes.

THE END.

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